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Soviet Commander on Troop Withdrawal From Hungary

LD2812212789 Budapest MTI in English 1759 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 28 (MTI)—Colonel General Matvey Burlakov, commander of the Soviet Southern Army Group, who deals with the affairs of the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary on commission from the Soviet Government, gave a statement on Thursday to the Hungarian news agency MTI, on the current situation of troop withdrawals and the schedule for 1990.

Mr Burlakov said that, in accordance with the latest decision of the Soviet Government, recently published in the Hungarian and Soviet press, further military units are to be withdrawn from the area of the Republic of Hungary in 1990. These are an air wing, a rifle regiment, two armoured car battalions and other units. The Soviet troops stationed in Hungary will be cut by more than 6,000 soldiers, more than 40 aircraft, 120 tanks, about 180 armoured vehicles, and more than 400 cars.

Colonel General Burlakov stressed that this decision of the Soviet Government results in troop reductions over the earlier unilateral withdrawal. When making the decision, the request of Debrecen residents was also taken into consideration: They asked that the Soviet air unit stationed near the city be re-located somewhere else as it was very near the residential area. This unit will also be withdrawn from Hungary next year. The additional reduction of Soviet troops is part of implementing the new Soviet military defence doctrine, the switch to the principle of rational, sufficient defence.

Question: The partial withdrawal of Soviet troops from the areas of the Republic of Hungary began in 1989. What has happened so far and which units are to leave Hungary by the end of 1990, under the terms of both the earlier and the most recent decision?

'On the basis of the Soviet Government's decision, as part of the unilateral reduction of Soviet armed forces and armaments, a complete tank division, an armoured vehicle training regiment, a fighter plane regiment, and several other units are to be withdrawn from Hungary. In totality, more than 10,000 soldiers, 470 tanks, more than 200 guns and trench mortars, more than 3,000 cars and other military vehicles have left Hungary for the Soviet Union. This decision already envisaged the withdrawal of further units from Hungary for 1990, the staff of which stands at around 2,000.

'On the basis of all these, the forces and staff of the Soviet troops stationed on the area of Hungary will be reduced in totality by more than 30 units, and about 18,000 soldiers will leave Hungary', Colonel General Burlakov went on to note.

'The announced troop withdrawal is progressing according to plans, as a result of which the Soviet units leaving Hungary have handed over many barracks, training bases and residential buildings to the Hungarian side. Soviet units have also been withdrawn from the Hungarian-Austrian border zone, and a "zone of confidence" has thus come about. The vicinity of Budapest has also become more quiet, the air unit stationed at Tokol no longer disturbs the residents of Budapest's southern districts as the fighter plane regiment earlier stationed there has been withdrawn. The withdrawal of Soviet troops has, and continues to be realized in the spirit of openness and publicity.'

Question: What is expected with respect to the further reduction of Soviet troops? When will the troops be fully withdrawn from the area of Hungary?

'The speed with which the strength of the Soviet troops should be reduced, when and how these should be withdrawn, falls under the competence of the Warsaw Treaty member states. All this is in close connection with the pan-European arms reduction and disarmament process, and the state and progress of the Vienna arms reduction talks. The stationing of Soviet troops in Hungary can be explained exclusively with strategic reasons, as the southern wing of the NATO united armed forces has a considerable power superiority. Therefore, the further reduction of troops can be realized only in a well-considered manner. A condition of further troop reductions is that these take place in a balanced manner, on a parity basis', Colonel General Burlakov said in conclusion.

Bulgarian Daily Denounces U.S. Action in Panama

AU2812173889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Dec 89 p 7

[Sibila Dimova article: "Against Laws, Against Moral"]

[Text] The democratic values and norms governing international coexistence cannot be defended with artillery, ground forces, air forces, warships, or tanks. It is impossible to assert that one is acting in the interest of the people, when those people energetically resist your weapons. It is immoral to count only your own casualties and to do this in a war you began to protect the lives and tranquillity of your citizens. Therefore, the U.S. attack against Panama is not only an illegal act; it is an immmoral act.

In addition, the development of events refutes the correctness of Washington's policy. Up to this very moment the Panamanian people in fact have demonstrated their support for General Manuel Antonio Noriega, because they are fighting against his pursuers, who have put a price of $1 million on his "head," and because of the very fact that the "evil genius" himself cannot be found. He actually held the entire national government in his own hands, actually succeeded in using the Panamanian people's national pride to the advantage of his personal power, and actually declared that his country is "in a state of war" with the United States. However, it also is clear that official Washington could not understand the reasons why the general found support, namely, that the traditional U.S. interference in Panama's internal affairs and its constant striving to subjugate the citizens to its own interests and demands generated more hatred in the hearts of the people than the hatred that a man involved in the drug traffic could ever evoke.

Gen Noriega is hardly the most suitable symbol of resistance against the imperialist dictatorship. Such a symbol, and actually a more beloved one, was General Omar Torrijos, who not only achieved the treaty on the transfer of the canal to Panamanian sovereignty, but also developed in the Panamanian population a taste for true democratic self-government. However, Gen Torrijos died in what was officially declared to be "mysterious circumstances," but, as everyone is convinced, he actually died as a result of CIA interference.

In other words, the current U.S. leadership, even when its motives are pure, cannot obliterate the consequences of a traditionally immoral policy.

The problem applies to the entire issue of U.S.-Latin American relations. Latin American statesmen may disapprove of Noriega's personality, but they disapprove much more of U.S. intervention by force.

GDR Commentary Condemns U.S. Action in Panama

AU2812184289 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 21 Dec 89 p 1

[Maritta Tkalec commentary: "Invasion of the Liberators"]

[Text] The United States is—once again—playing its shameful role of the proverbial bull in the china shop. In contrast to claims and analyses, which can be recorded everywhere—that is, that conflicts should always be resolved peacefully—Washington is attacking Panama, allegedly, once again, to protect the lives of U.S. citizens.

Now U.S. citizens as well as Panamanians are really losing their lives, which were not endangered before. U.S. soldiers are hunting the bogeyman General Noriega, the powerful man of Panama, to bring him to trial in the United States. But for this reason no world power would risk military intervention in a region which is at any rate full of conflicts. Much more is at stake for Washington; strategic positions are at stake: The Panama Canal and the military bases of the Pentagon's Southern Command situated in the Canal Zone are at stake. One has to always be aware of this, in order to avoid becoming enthralled by the pathetic television statements of President Bush, who wants to free Panama, the United States, and the whole world from Noriega. Hardly anyone will still claim that Noriega has a clean slate, but not an insignificant part of Panama's population thinks that he is defending national interests; and this includes consideration for the future sovereignty of the Central American country over the interoceanic waterway.

However, irrespective of the evaluation of Noriega and the potential for conflicts arising over the Panama Canal, the following is valid there and everywhere in the world: Every nation has to decide on its own what way it wants to live in its own territory; and nobody must interfere, and certainly not with elite battalions, tanks, helicopters, and bombs, as Washington is now doing.

Poland Reacts to U.S. Invasion of Panama

U.S. Action Condemned

AU2812095989 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 21 Dec 89 p 2

["jem"-signed commentary: "U.S. B-52's Bomb Panama"]

[Text] One could sense that it would get "hot" in Panama before the end of the winter. However, hardly anyone suspected that the United States would go so far as to send B-52 "Super Fortresses" to bomb the capital of the small Latin American country, which could not in any way endanger the superpower's security. It was known for some time that there was a "thorn" in United States' side in Panama. That thorn was and is Panamanian General Manuel Antonio Noriega, who not only failed to yield to pressure from Washington, but resisted such pressure more and more effectively. The fact that President Bush ordered U.S. troops (there are about 10,000 of them stationed in the Canal Zone) to take action aimed at removing Noriega is unprecedented. So, the "state of war" with the United States that the Panamanian National Assembly declared 5 days ago has now become reality, having originally existed only on paper.

What sparked this was probably the killing of a U.S. citizen, who was one of several people who were found by Panamanian troops near a Panamanian military base. Although there was no full explanation of whether this was just a coincidence or a case of deliberate action on the part of both the Panamanians and the Americans, immediate counteraction was taken. Was this action not rather too rash? I have deliberately avoided the question of Noriega's links with the narcotics mafia, because there has still been no conclusive proof of such links, but, even if there were, it does not sanction sending out bombers over the capital of a sovereign state.

The United States has some experience of operations of this kind: The U.S. bomber raid on Libya took place not that long ago. After that attack, the papers said that the damage it had caused U.S. prestige in the world outweighed the benefits that it brought the U.S. Government. There is surely little doubt about how one should view this latest military operation against Panama, whose Armed Forces are outnumbered by U.S. troops in the three bases in the Panama Canal Zone. What is more, times have changed so much that every use of military means to resolve political issues or disputes of this kind must elicit revulsion and condemnation, especially when the blood of innocent civilians is shed. Fifty people have been killed in Panama so far. One would like to say that this is not in keeping with the spirit of the times and that these methods belong to the past. However, some lessons are only learned with great difficulty and reluctance.

U.S. Invasion 'Unjustifiable'

AU2812181289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Dec 89 p 5

[Zymunt Slomkowski commentary: "No Justification"]

[Text] This intervention had been in the offing for a long time. On 3 October, there was an attempt to topple General Noriega, and, when the U.S. forces stationed on U.S. bases along the Panama Canal failed to support the insurgents, many voices were heard in the United States expressing disapproval and criticism for President Bush's passivity. The Senate later was preoccupied with the matter of finding details about CIA activities targeting foreign figures. Then we had the incidents in Panama involving U.S. officers.

It now appears that these were only preliminary maneuvers to mold public opinion and to prepare it for the real operation.

The conflicting opinions and information about Gen Noriega and the accusations leveled against him—even if they prove to be substantiated—cannot, however, justify Wednesday's aggression. The indisputable fact is that the U.S.-Panamanian conflict has in essence nothing to do with Gen Noriega. The Panama Canal is the issue at stake here. According to a treaty signed in 1977 during the Carter presidency, the Panama Canal is to pass to Panamanian control in the year 2000. However, in Washington the matter was later reviewed and it was decided to revise the treaty. The real issue lies in the fact that Panama should remain under the control of the United States, which treats all of Central America as its own territory where nobody has the right to disagree. It is Gen Noriega—once supported by the United States—who thought differently. His opinion was seen as even more dangerous because it was expressed against a scenario that has been formed in Nicaragua and San Salvador.

The United States never accepted the "Brezhnev Doctrine." On the contrary, it was one of its most vehement critics. In practice, however, it makes use of this doctrine and has been doing so for some time in its own sphere of influence, that is to say, in the sphere of vital U.S. interests, as it tends to be called.

The armed attack on a sovereign state—independent of the propaganda motivation behind it—is a foreign intervention, an armed intervention in the internal affairs of another country—just like Grenada was a few years ago.

It is possible that Noriega deserves to be condemned. Can this, however, justify an armed intervention? This is a dangerous precedent and all the more so because, in this case, the prosecutor, the judge, and the jury are one and the same, namely, the U.S. Government.

Wednesday's aggression must arouse deep anxiety, because it has occurred at a time when the world is striving for dialogue, peaceful understanding, and striving to extinguish regional conflicts by political means. The Panama operation is a blow to these endeavors, and, moreover, it plays into the hands of all those who would still prefer to resort to force and who want to sabotage peaceful solutions.

Government 'Not Concerned' by East Europe Changes

AU2812190389 Paris AFP in English 1813 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Paris, Dec 28 (AFP)—Albania is not concerned over the changes sweeping Eastern Europe because it does not belong to the "socialist community" where the crisis is occurring, Albanian ambassador Ksenofon Nushi said here Thursday. Mr. Nushi said it was "revisionism", not socialism, that had failed in the region and his country planned to "continue along the socialist path."

With last week's Romanian revolution winding up and a provisional government in place, Albania is now the only communist country in Europe still unaffected by a tide of liberalism sweeping the socialist bloc.

Mr. Nushi said "socialism was dismantled in the Soviet Union and other Eastern countries by (former Soviet leader Nikita) Khrushchev" at the "Soviet communist party's 20th congress in 1956". Albanians, "who have always opposed this deviation, will continue along the socialist path which has made them an independent and sovereign country."

He said one of the main differences between Albania and "countries of the East" was that it was the "Red (Soviet) Army" that defeated fascism and "gave them power", while in Albania, "we fought our war for independence and sovereignty, and we continue to struggle for that."

Mr. Nushi, a former foreign minister, admitted Albania had problems, but said these were different from other countries of the region. "For us, the problem is to improve our population's standard of living." He recalled that when former Albanian leader Enver Hoxha came to power, Albania was Europe's most backward country, with between 85 and 90 per cent of its people illiterate, no industry, and undeveloped methods of farming. Today, he said, illiteracy had been eradicated and life expectancy had jumped from 38 to 72 years.

The country has a population of 3.5 million.

The diplomat said exiled Albanians living in Europe who had surfaced in recent days were people who collaborated with Italian or German occupying forces during World War II.

Asked if Albania had political prisoners, he said: "Yes, those who worked for foreign intelligence agencies," adding "but if they work hard, their sentences are reduced".

Delegation Travels to Libya for Official Meetings

Kapllani Heads Delegation

AU2112211189 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] At the invitation of the Foreign Liaison Ministry of Libya, a delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Albania, led by Deputy Minister Muhamet Kapllani, has left for Tripoli.

Officials Received in Libya

AU2712052789 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Jadallah Azzuz al-Talhi, minister of foreign affairs of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, received Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, with whom he had a warm and friendly talk. They discussed the traditional friendly links between the Albanian and Libyan peoples and expressed their wish and readiness to further develop relations between the two Mediterranean countries in the fields of economic, trade, scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation. Opinions were also exchanged on some aspects of the current international situation, with particular stress on developments in Europe, the Balkans, the Mediterranean, and the Middle East.

Muhamet Kapllani handed to the Libyan minister a friendly message from Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

The meeting was also attended by Dhimiter Stamo, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Libya.

The delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, headed by Deputy Minister Muhamet Kapllani, returned home today.

Trade Minister Visits Bulgaria; Protocol Signed

Korbeci Received in Sofia

AU2312134689 Tirana ATA in English 0909 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Text] Tirana, December 23 (ATA)—On December 22, the vice-premier and minister of planning of the PR [People's Republic] of Bulgaria, Kiril Zarev received Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, in Sofia. During the meeting they evaluated the results achieved in the field of relations of economic and trade cooperation and they expressed the readiness and opinions were exchanged on the new possibilities of cooperation in fields of mutual interest.

Present in the meeting was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in the PR of Bulgaria, Bashkim Rama.

Protocol Signed 22 Dec

AU2312134589 Tirana ATA in English 0944 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Text] Tirana, December 23 (ATA)— The protocol on the exchange of goods and payments between the Government of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania and the Government of the PR [People's Republic] of Bulgaria for 1990 was signed in Sofia on December 22. For the Albanian side the protocol was signed by the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci,

and for the Bulgarian side by the minister of foreign economic relations, Khristo Khristov.

Present in the signing ceremony was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania to the PR of Bulgaria Bashkim Rama.

According to the protocol, Albania will export in Bulgaria ferro-chrome, electric power, copper wires, tobacco, cigarettes, iron-nickel ore etc., and will import various semi-finished products, machineries, equipment and spare parts, food articles, coking coal etc.

Delegation Returns

AU2612044689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] The government trade delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, headed by Foreign Trade Minister Shane Korbeci, has returned home from Bulgaria.

Rallies, Strikes Throughout Country Noted

AU2912073989 Sofia BTA in English 2212 GMT 28 Dec 89

["Rallies, Strikes, Demonstrations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 28 (BTA)—Today at hundreds of enterprises in the country there were token strikes which replaced the general political strike called for a few days ago by the Podkrepa Independent Labour Federation. The strikes today were token ones because last night the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] announced that an agreement had been reached with the Union of Democratic Forces for preliminary negotiations on roundtable talks.

Podkrepa convened a rally in the center of Sofia which was attended by tens of thousands of people. Along with the calls for decisive steps on the road to democracy it was pointed out that the proposal for a roundtable was accepted by the BCP leadership after the strikes organized by the independent federation.

At the rally it was announced that there are participants in yesterday's warning strike who have been sacked.

Today there was also a students' demonstration in Sofia.

The students walked through the city and, having got to the building of the Bulgarian Television, presented a declaration in which they insist on the separation of party and state power, the immediate resignation of the CC of the BCP, dissolving the party organizations existing at enterprises, institutes, plants, etc., depolitization of the Ministry of the Interior, the Court and the Army, guaranteed access to the mass media for the independent constitution-consistent associations, real autonomy for the establishments of higher education.

Understanding Reached With Union Leaders

AU2812212989 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] A meeting was held in Sofia this afternoon between government and trade union representatives in the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions building.

Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council, and a group of specialists held a 2-hour discussion with Mincho Yovchev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of industry and technologies, and Finance Minister Belcho Belchev.

The meeting marked the beginning of negotiations between the trade unions and the government to conclude a general agreement for 1990 and to prepare the trade unions' participation in the forthcoming roundtable. The discussion covered the most acute social and economic problems [passage indistinct].

Preliminary agreement was reached on a large part of the problems and specific issues that were raised, which will help in concluding the general agreement between the Bulgarian trade unions and the government.

Writer on Hunger Strike for Repeal of Article 1

AU2812180689 Sofia BTA in English 1713 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 28 (BTA)—I went on a hunger strike on December 15 and I will continue it until Article 1 of the Constitution is cancelled, the writer Vasil Stanilov informed the president of the State Council in a letter published in the LITERATUREN FRONT weekly.

Article 1 of the Constitution guarantees the leading role of the working class and the Communist Party. Its cancellation is "the desire of all honest Bulgarians irrespective of their party affiliation, because it will make us part of civilized Europe," it is said in the letter.

The plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] of December this year decided that the BCP Parliamentarian Group should present a motion to the National Assembly as to the cancellation of the constitutional guarantees for the leading role of the party. Referring to the provisions contained in the Constitution, according to which amendment to it can be put on the agenda for discussion not earlier than a month after the respective proposal is made, at its December session the Bulgarian parliament adopted a declaration in which it is said that "the National Assembly decides to give a final approval to the amendment at its next session in January 1990." The postponement provoked protests and a demonstration.

Vasil Stanilov addressed the head of state expecting him to make a statesmanlike gesture by suspending Article 1 of the Constitution, thus "proving that he holds dear even a one and only human life." "The Bulgarian people has deserved and suffered for this New Year present," the letter says in conclusion.

Fifteen distinguished dramaturgists came out with a declaration in support of Vasil Stanilov's protest. "Appreciating highly his civic act, we hope that our moral support will give him strength and courage."

Interviewing Vasil Stanilov, a BTA reporter learned that as a mark of solidarity some activists of the Union of Free Democrats in Stara Zagora also went on a hunger strike; Valentina Gancheva, a journalist at the BULGARIYA magazine has been on a hunger strike for five days now and architect Nikolov for four days. The Union of Actors supported the writer-satirist, and 25-30 of its member actors, directors, and dramaturgists declared that, being worried about Stanilov's health, they are ready to take up the baton from him.

Vasil Stanilov has received a letter from the National Assembly in which he is asked to call off his hunger strike

and is assured that after the session in January he will have no reason for protests.

Vasil Stanilov, whose strike has been going on for two weeks now, has not decided whether to accept the proposal for other people's taking up his hunger strike.

Podkrepa Says 50 Firms Hold 'Symbolic Strikes'

AU2812154489 Sofia BTA in English
1507 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 28 (BTA)—People of 50 enterprises in Bulgaria take part in today's symbolic strike on the initiative of the Independent Federation of Labour "Podkrepa" (support).

That was said before BTA by a representative of the Central Coordination Strike Committee of "Podkrepa". He also complained that "someone is helping" the irregular work of the telephone of the committee and that data about those on strike have been received only for two-three hours this morning.

"Podkrepa" called yesterday for "a Japanese strike," i.e. everybody should be working, but should put a sign on their sleeves "I am on strike" at my work place. The federation canceled its call for a general strike with political requests today, taking into consideration the will declared by the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] for a "round table" between the official authorities and the independent unions immediately after the New Year.

Among those who declared that they are "on strike" is the collective of the 5th Energy Block of the Nuclear Power Plant by Kozloduy, workers in the sphere of trade, the legal system and other branches.

The committee has received a number of cables against the strike, said the representative. He said, however, that all cables have been anonymous, and as sender is pointed the respective work team without mentioning any names. [sentence as received] Apart from that, according to the representative of the strike committee "the text of the cables is almost identical" and invariably they state that "the strike is not a peaceful and civilized device" and "Podkrepa" is accused of "desire for confrontation and open ambition for power." We received a number of such cables from Elkhovo and Isperikh (cities in eastern Bulgaria) said the representative, evidently the official bodies there have "done a good job," he added.

The cables express conviction in the success of the democratic changes which have started and it is invariably stated that "the working people will support the restructuring with their work," according to the representative of the committee.

At the same time a number of citizens have come to the committee who "have expressed conviction that the independent organizations have once again been misled with promises about a 'round table' so that they stop their strike activities." The citizens, according to the representative, have insisted on the leading of negotiations at the round table, but not consultations.

Complete analysis of the results of the strike the "Podkrepa" will be made in the near future, said the representative of "Podkrepa," Mr Doncho Ivanov.

Podkrepa, BCP Hold Debate on 'Allegations'

AU2812140589 Sofia BTA in English
1311 GMT 28 Dec 89

["Conflicting Allegations About 'BCP Combat Cells'"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 28 (BTA)—The party boss of the town of Belovo reportedly called for reinforced armed guard of enterprises to keep out activists of the Podkrepa Independent Trade Union. He had urged for an activation of the "combat cells of BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and Komsomol members," said Mr Georgi Spasov, spokesman for the Union of Democratic Forces, in a televised statement aired last night immediately before a reply statement by Mr Konstantin Dilchev, managing editor of IZVESTIYA NA TsK NA BKP [Bulletin of the BCP Central Committee].

"The allegation that the BCP does not intend to disband the so-called combat cells of BCP and Komsomol members, formed under the totalitarian regime, is inexact. This decision is practically not in force as from November 10. It was formally revoked, too. Of course, everybody has the right to an opinion and things should not be dramatized," Mr Dilchev said.

In their statements, Mr Georgi Spasov and Mr Konstantin Dilchev set forth their positions on the nature of the changes in Bulgaria after the change in leadership, on the press and on the extreme actions.

The spokesman for the Union of Democratic Forces said: "We live in a state which is disguised as democratic but is actually totalitarian." One of his arguments in favour of this assertion was that the BCP's renunciation of the constitutional guarantees of its leading role is essentially meaningless, as the state power at all levels is vested in party functionaries." The state is the nomenklatura's private feudal domain, and through the state, the nomenklatura exercises total control over individuals and society as a whole." The only tangible change has been the leeway for some pluralism of opinions, but the BCP retains full control of the mass media, Mr Georgi Spasov said. [quotation marks as received]

The managing editor of IZVESTIYA NA TsK NA BKP said that the BCP and the country have embarked on the road of radical change. In corroboration of his words, he mentioned the legalization of new sociopolitical forces, which has led to a tangible democratization of public life. The BCP's renunciation of the constitutional guarantees of its leading role is an objective prerequisite for its differentiation from the state. "Another way in which this is expressed is the party's initiative to put trust in the

economic and administrative workforce leaderships apart from the party organisations, Mr Konstantin Dilchev said. The free elections will become the next step towards the expropriation of the "private feudal domain." He further spoke about the restriction of the nomenklatura's privileges, stressing that the process will continue until the privileges are eliminated. He explained that "the struggle against the nomenklatura abuses does not imply a rejection of the personnel policy of the BCP and of each independent association." Making a point of the opportunity which almost all leaders of independent associations have had of being seen and heard by the public, he said: "This refutes the allegations that the party has monopolized the media. Its position is categorical: The media's independence should be extended."

Speaking of a "wave of left-wing extremism" among the BCP members, Mr Georgi Spasov said that he and the Podkrepa Trade Union leader, Dr Trenchev, had received threats and that independent activists had been roughed up. "It was we who have been blamed for extremism, but I would like to emphasize that no representative of the authorities has been beaten so far," he said. Mr Georgi Spasov said that a campaign has been launched against the independent movements' leaders and that this campaign uses "slander and outright lies." These leaders are rumoured to be receiving tens of thousand of dollars from the Americans to disunite the country. "The Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP and the government are well aware that nobody has received a single cent, but nevertheless the campaign is not condemned in public and is not halted," he said.

Mr Konstantin Dilchev said that the cases cited will be checked. He said that, for its part, the BCP, too, has received information that its members have been threatened. "The BCP categorically opposes such threats and all manifestations of extremism irrespective of who their doers are," he said.

The spokesman for the Union of Democratic Forces said that the demands for an independent press publication, for unimpeded access to the media in the provinces and for office and conference premises have not been met.

In conclusion he declared his organization's determination to implement its programme for democracy based on a multiparty system, equality and civil liberties. Only a democracy of this kind can guarantee political stability, economic and cultural progress and social justice, he said.

Mr Konstantin Dilchev wound up his remarks saying that the BCP has opted for constructive and civilized dialogue. "The BCP chose the democratic road and will unswervingly implement its policy line of cooperation with all independent organisations and with all sound forces in them."

Pachov Denies Podkrepa Spokesman's Charges

AU2912073489 Sofia BTA in English 2102 GMT 28 Dec 89

["High-Ranking BCP Functionary Refutes Charges"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 28 (BTA)—Today representatives of the Podkrepa Independent Labour Federation gathered in front of the building of the regional BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] committee and insisted on a meeting with Panteley Pachov, member of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP and first secretary of the BCP Regional Committee.

Their main question was whether Panteley Pachov had really given orders or instructions for arming young people and military groups in the town of Belovo, as it was stated by Podkrepa spokesman Georgi Spasov on television yesterday.

Panteley Pachov refuted the charges and said he was embittered by such "cheap anticommunist propaganda". He pointed out that it was yesterday that the BCP Regional Auditing Commission restored Georgi Spasov to his party membership in his presence and at his request. "Similar statements and charges are not to the advantage of the dialogue of all public and political forces which is beginning now", Panteley Pachov underlined. He confirmed the readiness of the BCP Regional Committee to open its doors for all who really want to conduct a dialogue every evening after 17:00 hrs.

BCP Steelworkers Send Letter to Mladenov

AU2812142789 Sofia BTA in English 1340 GMT 28 Dec 89

["Open Letter to Petur Mladenov and BCP CC Politburo"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 28 (BTA)—"We don't have the right to make any more mistakes," write a group of BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] members in an open letter to Mr Petur Mladenov and the Politburo, published in today's NARODNA ARMIYA.

The authors, workers at the Stomana Company, a Pernik-based iron and steel manufacturer, voice their concern over the delayed processes of restructuring in which the party is losing the initiatives and the priorities in these processes.

They are alarmed by the fact that most of the party slogans for democratisation and humanisation of society, for pluralism and clean environment are taken away and become all but exclusively opposition slogans.

They cite as a specific example a question which the company's management has been raising to no avail for years on end: that sintering and blast-furnace production and open-hearth furnace production be shut down. This

problem is now being raised by the Ecoglanost Independent Association and, if it is solved, Ecoglasnost will claim the credit.

The authors believe that restructuring in the party and above all in the party apparatus is going slow, that the drafting of a new political platform, new BCP rules and programme based on the democratic principles and humane socialism, and that the style of work of the staff of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, of the BCP regional and municipal committees has not changed radically.

They declare themselves in favour of an overall replacement of high-ranking party officials at all levels and of a disbandment of the regional leaderships whose existence has proved entirely unjustified.

The open letter was voted at a meeting of the Bureau of the BCP Committee at the company.

Workers Strike at Byala Circuit Board Plant

AU2812120989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Dec 89 p 4

[Boris Gergov report: "Crisis for the Administration"]

[Excerpts] Byala, special correspondent Boris Gergov—[Passage omitted] The conflict broke out a few days ago: The workers put down their tools for several hours. The blow knocked the party and plant leadership off their feet. The shock was fearful because, so it seems to me, they had not realized that the changes in the country are not confined this time to a scraping of the legs of soft-padded chairs in the upper floors of power, but involve the workers' struggle for a new position in production. It is difficult for the leaders to see the reasons for what has happened in the leading plant, which is expected to achieve the best fulfillment of the annual plan and has the highest average wages and good social conditions.

The order of events was as follows:

4 December: The workers lay down their tools for about 2 hours. The motive was poorly heated facilities and misunderstandings concerning pay rates.

5 December: Meeting of the labor collective. The management was called upon "to stand up straight in order to show respect for the collective, at least once." The meeting adopted a vote of no-confidence in Stanislav Georgiev, the works director, in Aneta Petrova, deputy director for economic matters, and in Kichka Borisova, chief of the Wages and Salaries Department.

6 December: Meeting of the works party committee, in order to give answers to questions from the workers. The committee adopted "a decision to disassociate itself from the decision of the labor collective of 5 December, and to propose a vote of confidence in the management."

7 December: The arrival is expected at the plant of Atanas Atanasov, chief director of the "Disc Memory Devices" Company, of which the plant forms one division.

8 December: Work stops for 3 hours in order for the workers to hold a meeting. Questions are answered. Further votes of no-confidence are passed against Aneta Petrova and Kichka Borisova, but the director wins a vote of confidence by 203-200. [passage omitted]

The strike, which lasted several hours, was a warning that the calm of the managed workers was disturbed not only at this plant, but also in neighboring enterprises in the town, where foresight had been shown in discussing distribution relationships and an accountability report had been presented on various issues. However, the management of the Byala plant did not win back the work force's confidence. People cannot feel that they have got things off their chests after only two meetings. Mere words have had no value in our land for some time, and everyone realizes that deeds are the sole criterion for faith. "Yes," said Stanislav Georgiev, "to manage living people is an art in which mistakes are made. However, if a man does not experience certain events, he will not understand what the changes mean, and he will not be prepared for new events. What happened at our works is a lesson for us, a lesson in the positive sense."

Podkrepa Activity in Preventing Strike Noted

AU2812163989 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 20 Dec 89 p 1

[Georgi Georgiev article: "'Podkrepa' Does Not Support Strikes"]

[Excerpts] Recently I read an unusual protocol. It was an agreement between the drivers for the "emergency ward" in Sofia and the administrative leadership. Have there been any similar agreements between workers and managers in the last 43 years?

The events developed with unexpected speed. During the first days of December, the workers presented their demands to the "Podkrepa" National Labor Federation and founded their own branch of the federation. On 5 December, they organized a meeting at which many sad truths were revealed—from the systematic violation of the Labor Code to forging patients' records (to show that the doctors have come 5-6 minutes after they had been called!). After the meeting, for the first time the information was brought to the attention of the chief doctor, the deputy minister of public health and social welfare—who was invited to attend the meeting—and the trade union officials. The drivers and "Podkrepa" proposed a dialogue as a way of resolving the critical situation. [passage omitted]

At this point we must digress from the subject. Without pointing out any grounds for doing so, a certain newspaper accused "Podkrepa" of rather loosely using labor conflicts as reasons for activating the ultimate weapon—

the "strike." The author, and apparently many of the readers, are not aware of "Podkrepa" 's position and activity. I must explain: Until now there has been no strike by a labor collective that was initiated by "Podkrepa." I personally saw how Nikolay Zhekov, coordinator of the "transportation" section, urged the drivers of Sofia's "Zemlyane" Transportation Company to present their demands rather than to strike. [passage omitted]

Trade Union Official Assesses Podkrepa

AU2012142689 Sofia BTA in English 1244 GMT 20 Dec 89

["Trade Union Pluralism"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 20 (BTA)—Socialist orientation is the basis of all our relations with the Independent Trade Union Podkrepa (support), says in his article published in today's issue of TRUD Kosta Andreev, secretary of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions.

The article is written by Kosta Andreev in connection with the session of the Bureau of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions held recently to discuss the points of principle in their relations with Podkrepa. The author expresses doubts as to the willingness of some Podkrepa activists to conduct a dialogue. "There are many facts, however, which show that some Podkrepa figures consider that only their point of view is the right one while the viewpoint of the Bulgarian Trade Unions is declared to be wrong in principle. Once we start along the line 'who whom?', all enterprises will become the arena of political fights, which will inevitably destabilize the economy and the sociopolitical situation in the country", he points out.

In Kosta Andreev's opinion the cause for the appearance of other trade union organizations in the country outside the already established system is the vacuum created in the protective mechanism of society. As a whole the trade unions have been turned into a conciliatory organization which people cannot trust any more.

The article points out that some forces of non-socialist orientation in Bulgaria might try to make use of trade union pluralism for achieving ends of their own. The opinion is also expressed that life will make us face the reality of having two and even more trade unions working under the framework of socialist choice. The differences will mainly consist in the choice of the means for achieving social justice.

Kosta Andreev points out that the Bulgarian Trade Unions are not a structure of political power and do not strive for such power. "As far as Podkrepa is concerned, we cannot but be worried by the fact that so far it has been copying solidarity", he says.

It is said in the article that the opponents of the Bulgarian Trade Unions are becoming the mouthpiece of all kinds of discontent and that authoritative trade unions can be those which look upon the problems seriously and realistically, which do not play the demagogue and do not raise cheap pluralistic slogans, but suggest constructive ideas.

In conclusion it is pointed out that in the future the trade unions will have to work under the conditions of competition. It is important to fight competition from the positions of consolidation of all public forces in the name of restructuring, man and the people.

Warning Strike of Vratsa Workers Cited

AU2812163389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Dec 89 p 8

[BTA report: "Topical Chronicle"]

[Text] The workers of the "b" shift of the Vratsa "Khimko" Plant Ammonia and Carbide Production Shops have announced a warning strike. They wore signs saying "I am on strike" but did not leave their workplaces. On the contrary, they announced that they will strive to maintain an optimal technological regime and to prevent accidents. What prompted this protest?

It has a preamble, which begins with the unequal and unjust distribution of bonuses, some 20 years ago; however, the issue also encompasses many social problems and misappropriations, which have accumulated within the company. The result was that the workers gave a vote of no-confidence for the general director, Iliya Iliev. At a "roundtable" discussion, the workers presented their demands. It was decided that the company leadership must reply at the 20 December general meeting. However, it violated the agreement by setting up preliminary meetings "to clarify the problems." The warning strike, which will continue until 21 December, reflects the workers' protest against those meetings. The outcome of the strike will depend on the meeting's decisions.

Commission Proposals on Draft Law of Rallies

AU2812123689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Dec 89 p 2

[Proposal issued by the Legislative Commission and the Commission on Defense of Social Interests and Citizens' Rights on the draft law on meetings, rallies, and demonstrations—date and place not given]

[Text] 1. To add the words "and conducted" after "may be organized" in Article 2, and the word "other" and after the words "political and."

Reasons: The additions are necessary in order to expand the field in which the Law on Meetings, Rallies, and Demonstrations may apply.

2. To amend Article 3 in the following manner:

"Article 3. At meetings, rallies, and demonstrations the citizens express opinions, views, and stands of political,

economic, social, cultural, and other nature by word, by means of placards, dummies, and in another apposite manner."

Reasons: Greater clarity is given to the text without changing its essence.

3. To amend Article 4 in the following manner:

"Article 4. Citizens may not be prosecuted or punished for organizing and participating in meetings, rallies, and demonstrations, nor for the opinions, views, and stands expressed by them, unless these constitute a crime."

Reasons: The amendment is of an editorial nature and aims at greater clarity of the text.

4. To amend Article 8 in the following manner:

"Article 8. (1) In order to convene an outdoor meeting or rally the organization must give written notice at least 2 days in advance, to the township or municipal people's council of the area where the event is to be held, pointing out the organizer, and the goal, location, and time of the meeting or rally.

"(2) In urgent cases the notice of an outdoor meeting or rally, mentioned in the previous paragraph, may be given 1 day in advance."

Reasons: Paragraph 1 of Article 8 allows an outdoor meeting, rally, or demonstration to be conducted after notifiation of the municipal people's council, or mayor, at least 2 days in advance. According to paragraph 2, when an urgent case is involved, the notice may be given 1 day in advance.

5. To amend Article 12, paragraph 2 in the following manner:

"(2) The chairman of the executive committee of the municipal people's council, or the mayor, may prohibit the holding of a meeting, rally, or demonstration if they have information beyond any doubt that:

"1. The events aim at changing the public and social system established by the Constitution, or the country's territorial integrity, by force;

"2. they pose a threat to public order at the relevant location;

"3. they pose a threat to the people's health, if a previously announced epidemic exists;

"4. they violate the rights and liberties of other citizens."

Reasons: the reasons for prohibiting meetings, rallies, and demonstrations have been specified, details have been provided, and the reasons listed, so that there could be no general interpretation. They are in line with the text of Article 21 of the International Covenant on Civic and Political Rights.

Green Party Holds Constituent Assembly in Sofia

AU2812194889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] This evening a constituent assembly of the Green Party in Bulgaria was convened in Sofia. Passages from the new party's program were transmitted to us a few minutes ago by reporter [name indistinct].

In determining its policies, the party starts from the position of the inseparable unity of economic and ecological problems. Bearing in mind the present concern that extensive economic growth causes degradation of the environment, the realization follows that this degradation also worsens the prospects for further economic development. The possibilities for progress in the economy at the expense of the ecology are already exhausted. A new path of development is needed.

The Green Party proposes a process of change, under which the utilization of natural resources, investment strategy, the orientation of technological development, and alterations in the management structures are in harmony and increase the present and future possibilities for increasing the quality of life.

In its activity the party is guided by the following principles: democracy; political, economic, and intellectual pluralism; social justice; respect for the individual; giving priority to the rights and interests of the individual; renunciation of force as a means of political struggle; open nature of activity; collective adoption of decisions; and the collegial principle in leadership.

Opposes BCP 'Rule'

AU2912074189 Sofia BTA in English 2248 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 28 (BTA)—This evening about 200 people representing all strata of the population in Bulgaria founded here the Bulgarian Green Party.

"Our primary concern is man and the quality of his life. Political democracy, a reasonably organized economy and a viable nature are all integral parts of the complex which conditions the possibility of man to live to his own satisfaction. We champion these elements not as abstract principles or as a guarantee for a remote and vague "bright future", but as an urgent requirement for meaningful life here and now", it is said in the political declaration of the Green Party proclaimed this evening.

The Bulgarian "Greens" declared that it is their intention to fight for political power because they "consider that there is no ground for the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] to rule Bulgaria any more". They proclaim all democratic "eco-movements" to be their allies and propose an "as much as possible" decentralized political and socioeconomic model. They are opposed to the centralism that characterizes the present rule of the country.

In a statement on the television a representative of the Bulgarian "Greens" said that all able-bodied Bulgarian citizens who support the programme of the Green Party, who work for its implementation and who are not members of another party can join it.

Assembly To Debate Article 1 on 15 Jan

AU2812191689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] The State Council will convene the Ninth National Assembly for its 13th session at 1000 on 15 January.

In connection with the 13th session of the National Assembly scheduled for 15 January, it is announced from the Office of the Chairman of the National Assembly that the session will examine a draft law on repealing paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article 1 of the Constitution, submitted by the parliamentary groups of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union.

The draft law was submitted on 14 December, and the 1-month period prescribed by Article 143, paragraph 2, of the Constitution that has to elapse before its examination by the National Assembly will expire on 14 January.

The National Assembly session set for 25 January will be held as the 14th session. This session will examine draft laws submitted by the government on other issues, about which the National Assembly deputies and the public will be informed in good time.

Multiparty Appeal Against Belene Nuclear Plant

AU2912104989 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] We have received the following appeal from Svishtov [town on the Danube in northern Bulgaria], addressed to the chairman of the Council of Ministers:

From: Ecoglasnost Association, Svishtov; Municipal Committee on Environmental Protection and Regeneration; Municipal Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party; Municipal People's Council; Municipal Komsomol Committee; Municipal Fatherland Front Committee; Municipal Trade Union Council; and Independent Student Movement at Svishtov's Higher Financial-Accounting Institute.

After the submission of a petition signed by 10,681 citizens of Svishtov to the National Assembly, the construction of the Belene Nuclear Power Plant continues at an accelerated pace. Huge quantities of concrete are being cast. Urgent construction-assembly activities are being carried on in the basic nuclear department of the plant.

The citizens of Svishtov are alarmed. We think that the purpose of all this is to prove, at great cost, that stopping the construction of the nuclear power plant would be unprofitable from an economic point of view. The purpose is to present an accomplished fact to the government, the National Assembly, and the public. The purpose is to bring the opponents of this construction project to their knees.

We assess this behavior, based on power, as a remnant of the Stalin-Zhivkov time, and as an expression of narrow department[1] attitude rather than a statesmanlike attitude. It is an irresponsible waste of thousands and millions of leva, which comes from the taxes paid by citizens throughout the country.

We insist that the construction of the Belene Nuclear Power Plant be frozen until a final decision is adopted.

We propose that the final decision only be adopted after conducting a nationwide referendum on issues of nuclear power supply, and more specifically, on the expediency of constructing the nuclear power plant at this location.

Listen to our voice! Do not become a partner in this inhuman cause! The life of even a single person is more precious than all millions (?buried) in the Belene Nuclear Power Plant.

Chief Mufti Discusses Muslim Names With Mladenov

AU2812204389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Today State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov received Dr Nedyo Gendzhev, chief mufti of the Muslim faith.

On behalf of the Muslim priesthood and in his own behalf, the chief mufti congratulated the chairman of the State Council on his election by the National Assembly to this most responsible state post and wished him complete success in his leading activity to ensure the overall implementation of renewal in our country and to further raise Bulgaria's international authority.

After cordially thanking the chief mufti for the congratulations, the chairman of the State Council briefed him on the course of the processes of renewal. He stressed the decisive importance of emerging from the crisis and further developing the People's Republic of Bulgaria. This great patriotic and revolutionary cause demands full commitment and activity on the part of the whole of our society, including the believers and religious figures of all faiths.

The chief mufti assured the chairman of the State Council that the Bulgarians who profess Islam and the Muslim clergy support the processes of genuine renewal for the further development of democracy and glasnost and will work actively for the progress of their fatherland and the prosperity of the Bulgarian people.

At the meeting with the chief mufti, certain other issues were also touched upon, connected with giving fuller

expression to the faith, as well as the possibility for those of the believers who wished to be able to use Muslim names.

The chairman of the State Council acquainted the chief mufti with the measures undertaken by the new leadership to democratize public life, including the activity of the religious organizations.

A draft law is to be examined by the National Assembly on amendments and additions to the Law on Faiths, with the aim of legislatively regulating a number of religious activities in a new manner. The specific questions raised will be carefully studied.

Lyubomir Popov, chairman of the Committee on Questions of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and Religious Cults and deputy minister of foreign affairs, attended the meeting.

Youth Daily Presents New Political Platform

AU2712121389 Sofia BTA in English
0950 GMT 27 Dec 89

["'A Bulgarian Road to Europe' Platform"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 27 (BTA)—Today's NARODNA MLADEZH publishes "A Bulgarian Road to Europe", a platform suggesting an alternative policy line for the Communist Party. The paper says that a constituent meeting will be held and a Coordinating Council will be formed on January 4, 1990.

The platform says that despite the country's upheaval, the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] still fails to reform, the Communists have adopted a wait-and-see approach and may well miss the last chance: an emergency congress. "Either we will break with Stalinism, or the people will break with us for good," the document reads.

It raises the need for an ultimate renunciation of the ideas to evolve a "Bulgarian" or any other "model" of socialism. Socialism is not a type of social system but a trend in mankind's development.

The platform should be viewed as a programme for a transition to lead Bulgaria to the threshold of a politically, economically and culturally integrating Europe. An emphasis is laid on the importance for the Communist Party to return to the pluralistic community of the world social democracy, from which it was literally kidnapped by Stalinism. The consolidation of the anti-Stalinist wing within the party is vital now.

The radical change in the country is conceived as the establishment of a European-style parliamentary democracy. An emphasis is laid in this connection on the need to abandon the idea of party rule as an end in itself. Irrespective of whether it will win the forthcoming elections or not, the party should not assume the entire executive and legislative power during the transitional period, the document says. Only a broad-based coalition government can mitigate the crisis.

The platform says that urgent action should be taken to find a way out of the most serious crime of the Zhivkov regime: the creation of an ethnic problem in the country.

Other questions raised in "a Bulgarian road to Europe" include the Bulgarians' religious rights, the indispensable changes in the work of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the restructuring of the BCP itself. "While remaining committed to the positions of Marxism, we resolutely oppose any attempts to monopolize ideology and culture," the document says.

Daily Proposes New Bulgarian Coat of Arms

AU2812112789 Sofia BTA in English
0922 GMT 28 Dec 89

["On Bulgaria's Coat of Arms"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 28 (BTA)—ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME today runs a feature suggesting that the country's coat of arms be redesigned.

The author writes that with the repeal of the constitutional guarantee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] leading role, the party symbols incorporated into the national emblem should be dropped. The author further calls into question the need to keep the year 1944 (the date of the triumph of the Socialist Revolution in Bulgaria) as an element of the coat of arms.

He expresses the opinion that the parliamentary faction of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) should insist on the emblem being altered in a way that would make it acceptable to the entire people, to embody the most perennial and typical features of the state's entire historical development.

Police Brutality at Ecoglasnost Event Described

AU2812142389

[Editorial Report] Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian on 20 December on page 2 carries a 3,000-word "journalistic investigation" by Lyudmil Paunovski entitled "Action." The investigation deals with the circumstances of the 26 October action of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs against Ecoglasnost activists, who were collecting signatures against the "Rila" and "Mesta" projects.

Paunovski describes the activities of Ecoglasnost during the days before 26 October and points out that all events organized by Ecoglasnost "were attended by tall and strong young men with short haircuts, some of them carrying video and photo cameras, and demonstratively photographing the activists and those signing Ecoglasnost's petition." He describes a 24 October meeting between Ecoglasnost activists and Sofia's mayor, Stefan

Ninov, at which Ecoglasnost's activists "were obviously confused by the mayor's ignorance of legal regulations and his verbal attacks."

Further on Paunovski describes in detail the brutality of the employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs during their 26 October action against Ecoglasnost, citing the personal accounts of several Ecoglasnost members who relate how they were beaten up and humiliated. The accounts include cases of "dragging people on the ground," "punches in the kidneys after the people have already been arrested," threats by the uniform militia men such as "I will kill you with my punches," and other cases of similarly brutal behavior. Paunovski quotes Veronika Nikolova, who describes how "BBC correspondent Mike Power was deliberately hit and his camera destroyed," and this "despite the fact that his accreditation card to the Ecoforum and the big round BBC insignia could be clearly seen on his jacket."

After asking the rhetorical question "who trained those youths, the so-called 'karate specialists,' to brutally twist arms, kick, punch, and drag their compatriots on the ground," Paunovski says in conclusion:

"There are too many open questions, and we cannot quickly forget the incident in front of 'Crystal' building. We cannot quickly forget how our 'freedom' was mocked, how false information was presented, and how the only journalist who publicly declared that we have been forbidden to write honestly about the incident immediate became a favorite target of the former Sixth Department of State Security."

Clarification of Partisan Leader's Death Sought

AU2812121389

[Editorial Report] Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 20 December on page 2 carries a 900-word article by Angel Andreevski entitled "Public Continues to Seek Truth," dealing with the circumstances surrounding the April 1965 death of wartime partisan leader Ivan Todorov-Gorunya, "member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and head of 'Water Economy' Main Administration of the Council of Ministers." Pointing out that "the culprits quickly disseminated the version of 'suicide,'" Andreevski asserts that "nobody believed this version," and "everybody was asking how could this happen under the people's government?" He says that soon before his death, Ivan Todorov-Gorunya, who was "political commissar of the 'Gavril Genov' partisan unit and a fearless Communist," told a friend the following: "'At plenums of the BCP Central Committee I spoke against the erroneous economic policy, especially the agrarian policy, and thus evoked the wrath of Todor Zhivkov. I am sure that repressive measures will be activated against me.'"

Later Andreevski describes his additional conversations with Gorunya's friends, "all convinced that Gorunya did not commit suicide, but was killed," and concludes that "the goal of murdering Gorunya was to scare all those Communists who also would have rebelled against Todor Zhivkov's policy." In conclusion, he demands that the circumstances surrounding Gorunya's death be fully clarified and says that "this will strengthen the faith in the party and will facilitate the triumph of justice."

Causes of National Foreign Debt Viewed

AU2012120889 Sofia BTA in English 1121 GMT 20 Dec 89

["Bulgaria's Foreign Debt"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 20 (BTA)—At the moment Bulgaria's foreign debt is to the tune of 10 milliard dollars, the "credit" for which in the last years goes to agriculture and the losses suffered due to conjuncture changes in the international market, the annual amount of which is 100 million dollars.

Vladimir Penchev, head of the National Foreign Currency Balances with the Bulgarian Ministry of Economy and Planning, points out in today's issue of TRUD that among the main causes for the rapid growth of the country's foreign debt are the losses suffered due to the accidents at the chlorvinylchloride and polyvinylchloride making plant in Devnya and the Sviloza works in Svishtov. The extra foreign exchange expenses incurred in connection with the accidents amount to about 500 million dollars.

It is pointed out in the interview that the foreign exchange situation of the country has been aggravated by the electronic industry and heavy mechanical engineering sucking in dozens of millions per year. In 1989 the system of the Industry for Man Association swallowed about 300 million dollars, most of which went for raw materials and feed stock. Every year 300 million dollars are spent for forage components, meat, butter, cocoa, sugar, etc., expenses incurred at the time of unfavourable climatic conditions being excluded.

Answering a question, the representative of the Ministry of Economy and Planning points out that the expenses for the support of the party apparatus, purchasing cars etc., i.e., the foreign currency expenses of the budget-maintained organizations, are less than one-tenth of the percentage of the total foreign exchange expenses.

It is underlined that the structure of the economy of the country, its competitiveness, the quality of labour and the qualification of economic personnel should be added to the subjective causes for the serious foreign currency situation of the country.

It is announced that the developing countries' debt to Bulgaria are to the tune of two milliard dollars' worth, 1.5 of which should be paid back within few years.

Vladimir Penchev says that up to date Bulgaria has never failed to meet the maturity of the principal and the interest of the credits it was granted.

Despite the rather serious situation with the foreign debt, the respondent is optimistic, but at the same time he points out that the situation can hardly be expected to improve in a year or two.

Committee Notes 'Grave State' of Ecology

AU2112103289 Sofia BTA in English 2153 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 20 (BTA)—Today at the plenum of the National Committee for Environment Protection and Regeneration a declaration was adopted which reads that the grave and complex state of ecology in this country makes necessary the uniting of its social forces and a close interaction and cooperation between all social organizations, movements and groups.

A letter to the chairman of the National Assembly was adopted in which it is insisted that the government should determine the cities and regions which are in an ecologically disastrous state, and propose at the parliament's next session urgent measures and terms for their fulfillment as early as in 1990.

Army Political Administration on Ideology

AU2812123389 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 8 Dec 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the Main Political Administration"]

[Excerpts] On 4 December 1989, a meeting took place at the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army, which was attended by generals and officers of the administration's leaderships, the political organs of the various branches of Armed Forces, and central organs of the Ministry of National Defense.

Certain topical issues of party political work under the present conditions in the Army and the country were discussed at the meeting. As a result of the free exchange of opinions that took place, the most urgent tasks of the political organs, and party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations in implementing the decisions of the November plenums of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee, were illuminated.

It was pointed out that the new BCP course, aimed at renewing socialism, is greeted with broad approval and support by the Army. The meetings and conferences in the military collectives demonstrated not only the increased political activity of the soldiers, but under conditions of total openness, also revealed the difficulties that accompany the progress of restructuring, the reasons for the shortcomings that have been allowed, and their specific factors. [passage omitted]

The situation now requires that the political organs and the deputy commanders in political issues assume a clear and unambiguous position, sharply intensify their activity for rallying the personnel around the new course of the BCP Central Committee, and conduct a steady struggle for mobilizing every soldier for implementing this course in military practice. Under the new conditions the political organs cannot demonstrate passivity and await instructions "from the top." They must react to the event quickly, energetically, and with high political responsibility. [passage omitted]

Colonel General Mitko Mitkov, head of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army, who summarized the result of the exchange of opinions at the end of the meeting, again stressed the necessity of undertaking immediate, bold, and unconventional decisions and actions on the part of the political organs, the party and Komsomol organizations, and all cadres, that must be in line with the changes in the country's political situation and the Army, and the specific conditions of the military collectives. He pointed out that now, more than ever before, it is necessary to demonstrate high responsibility, devotion, a business-like approach and precision in the work related to analyzing and implementing the BCP's November course in the Bulgarian People's Army.

Party Newspaper Hails Ouster of Ceausescu

AU2812162889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Dec 89 pp 1,6

[Editorial: "A Great Day"]

[Text] At the cost of thousands of cherished victims, with heroism and self-sacrifice worthy of the highest respect and admiration, the long-suffering people of fraternal neighboring Romania smashed the yoke of the dictatorship of Nicolae Ceausescu and his family clique. For many years now, in Romania the people have been hungry, had no electricity, and because of the lack of adequate house heating and fuel, the winters were turned into a most terrible calamity, especially for children, invalids, and old people. What was even more terrible was the lack of freedom and democracy. A cruel monarchy, which cloaked itself with socialist and communist labels, and with the utmost demagogy, spoke and acted "in the name" of the Romanian Communists and the Romanian people, and suppressed and committed outrages against the most elementary human rights. Romania, this country of proud and freedom-loving people, which more than 40 years ago set out along the road of building a new and just life, was transformed into an immense prison. The command-bureaucratic system in this socialist country attained the most deformed and repulsive, but completely logical and perfect, form. The country, despite the will of its people, was isolated and cut off from Europe, cut off from the wave of democratic changes, and had no part in the coming together between people, nations, and countries that is increasingly determining the image of the "old world" on the eve of the last decade of the 20th century.

On 22 November, the Romanian people put an end to this tragic situation, or more precisely to the horrifying graveyard of stagnation. This great day in the history of neighboring Romania, the bloody morning of which

dawned in Timisoara a few days ago with valiant demonstrations, provides yet further proof—and what proof—that the desire of the people for a free and democratic existence and development is, in the final analysis, stronger even than the most cruel repressive regime. The world of socialism is shaking off the inhuman Stalinist system to return to its true essence. Socialism cannot be represented by any system of uncontrolled power, of brutal domination of family or nonfamily cliques, or of repression of the basic human rights. Socialism with a human face is the meaning, ideal, and goal of the Soviet restructuring and glasnost—the spark that cannot be extinguished either by open or concealed deadly enemies of de-Stalinization. It has led to such memorable dates in the history of the socialist countries of Eastern and central Europe as 18 October in the GDR, 10 November in Bulgaria, and now 22 December in Romania.

From today, at long last Nicolae Ceausescu is a political corpse. However, in his death throes he and his regime showed that they were ready to plunge the whole of Romania into rivers of blood in the name of preserving their power. For Ceausescu and his clique, the communist ideal was not only an alien, but also an organically hostile concept. Their sole ideals were power and privileges—unbounded in time and dimensions. Now a much more difficult task lies ahead, namely to eliminate and bury the system that created Nicolae Ceausescu, Elena Ceausescu, and their lackeys. Compared with their bestial images, the bloodsucking Count Dracula of tradition and dozens of films looks like an inoffensive bogeyman who simply scares naive children....

We congratulate you with the victory over the dictatorship and wish you complete success, dear Romanian brothers, on the road on which you have embarked, a road that is so precipitous and full of sorrow, but is also so glorious and noble!

USSR Abassador Awards Bulgarian Citizens

AU2812163089 Sofia BTA in English
1533 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 28 (BTA)—Today sixteen Bulgarian citizens were honored with orders of personal valor. It is said in the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR that this is a recognition for their "bravery and selflessness in eliminating the consequences of the earthquake in the Armenian SSR".

Reverting to the dramatic events in December last year, Soviet Ambassador Viktor Sharapov reminded the broad response the tragedy was met with on the part of state leaders, public and religious figures and private persons.

We are glad, the Soviet ambassador underlined, that representatives of the Bulgarian people also took part in the life-saving works—good friends of ours, young specialists, people who helped the Armenian people at a time of hardship, fulfilling their duty.

Georgi Atanasov, member of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and chairman of the Council of Ministers, thanked for the high distinction on behalf of the government. The earthquake in Soviet Armenia deeply moved all the world and put to the fore universal moral virtues which the USSR leadership and the CPSU consider to be inherent to the essence of the Soviet home and foreign policy, he said. The new thinking found its expression in the attitude towards the drama of Soviet Armenia, he said.

It was underlined that Bulgaro-Soviet relations are pure and meaningful and that their development is influenced favorably by the processes of restructuring in Bulgaria and the USSR.

French Parliamentarians Arrive for Talks

AU1912215589 Sofia BTA in English
2041 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 19 (BTA)—A French delegation made up of two representatives of the Foreign Policy Committee arrived here today to learn about the processes of democratization of social life in Bulgaria.

Today they had three separate meetings: with the leadership of the National Assembly Foreign Policy Committee; with Mr Angel Dimitrov, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party; and with Mr Georgi Pirinski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

During the talks the guests were familiarized with the rapid revolutionary changes which are taking place in Bulgaria under the conditions of democracy, glasnost and pluralism. The situation in the country is stable, said Mr Konstantin Atanasov, member of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee. He underlined the readiness of the BCP to solve all problems through an open-doors dialogue.

The leader of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), the second ruling party in Bulgaria, pointed out that now there is a chance for the BZNS to turn into a real political force, which it has failed to be in the last 40 years.

The French M.P.'s, whose visit here is part of a series of visits initiated by the French Parliament to six East European countries, see the role of their mission in strengthening the East-West dialogue and activating France's bilateral relations with each one of these countries.

At the discussion with Mr Georgi Pirinski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, the stress was laid on the possibilities of extending Bulgaro-French economic relations.

Tomorrow the French parliamentarians will continue their meetings with high-ranking party and state figures.

French Envoy Fetes Boyko Dimitrov for EEC

AU1912222189 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] On 18 December, Bertrand de Guilhem de Lataillade, French ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bulgaria, in his capacity as representative of the country that is chairing the EEC, gave a dinner in honor of Bulgarian Foreign Affairs Minister Boyko Dimitrov.

On the Bulgarian side, the dinner was attended by members of the leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Also present were the ambassadors of Belgium, Great Britain, Greece, Denmark, Spain, Italy, Portugal, the FRG, and the Netherlands.

Bulgaria has made a decisive step on the road toward democratization, the French ambassador stressed in his speech. The EEC member countries give a high assessment to the new climate created as a result of the decisions adopted at the last two sessions of the National Assembly, the dialogue established with the different strata of Bulgarian society, and the measures announced that are to be taken within the coming few months, the concrete implementation of which is awaited with great interest, he noted.

The words of President Mitterrand were recalled that no reason exists why Bulgaria, a profoundly European country from the historical viewpoint, should be excluded from the joint decisions that the European Community is ready to make.

Minister Boyko Dimitrov stressed the great importance that our country attaches to its participation in the construction of a common European home, to the overcoming of the division of Europe, and to Bulgaria's inclusion in the existing European institutions and the ones that are being constructed.

He expressed satisfaction with the talks that recently ended between experts of Bulgaria and the EC Commission concerning future agreements for trade and economic cooperation. Minister Boyko Dimitrov voiced confidence that the accords reached at the expert level will be turned into accords with the governments of the Twelve.

Mladenov Receives Italian CP Delegation

AU2012141989 Sofia BTA in English 1323 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 20 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], today received a delegation of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) led by Mr Antonio Rubbi, member of the PCI leadership. The delegation is visiting here at the invitation of the CC of the BCP.

Mr Petur Mladenov familiarized the guests with the u-turn in the development of the BCP and the country which began after November 10, 1989. He emphasized that the BCP has a realistic program to take Bulgaria out of its socioeconomic crisis, to turn it into a democratic state committed to the rule of law, to restructure radically the party and to build humane socialism.

Mr Aleksandur Lilov and Mr Dimitur Stanishev conferred with the delegation of the Italian Communist Party led by Mr Antonio Rubbi. They had an in-depth exchange of views on current aspects of the two parties' work. Specifically, they focused on the changes taking place in Europe and on the challenges they pose to the political and public forces in various countries. The sides noted their desire for a fruitful promotion of relations between the BCP and the PCI on the basis of the principles of equality, independence and cooperation.

Bank Asks Swiss for Data on Citizens Deposits

AU2812180389 Sofia BTA in English 1719 GMT 28 Dec 89

["Are There Honest Bulgarian Deposits in Switzerland?"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 28 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank has announced that an attempt was made to establish if there are Bulgarian citizens' foreign currency saving accounts opened with Swiss banks. No reply has been received because of the system of giving information about private and companies' deposits adopted by the Swiss banks.

The Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank has asked the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to officially refer the matter to the Swiss Government.

This information was given to the BTA in response to questions a lot of citizens have been asking of late. The former party and state committee, now a parliamentary committee for investigating the distortions and breaches in state, social and economic life at the time of Todor Zhivkov, has been ordered to make the inquiry.

Joint Federal Assembly Session Held in Prague

Opens 28 Dec

LD2812125989 Prague CTK in English 1233 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 28 (CTK)—A joint meeting of the House of the People and the House of Nations of the Federal Assembly which is to discuss three constitutional bills started here today.

The parliament will deal with the law on the election of deputies by the Federal Assembly so that the current Czechoslovak supreme representative body, which the compromised deputies left, can be completed. It will also discuss amendments to the presidential oath and the law on the rules of procedure according to which Federal Assembly deputies should be elected by public vote.

On the agenda of the Federal Assembly, there are also independent sessions of the two houses at which the House of the People is to be completed by 14 deputies and the House of Nations by 10 deputies.

Finally a joint meeting of the two houses will take place to elect a new chairman, first deputy chairman and three deputy chairmen.

Kukral Resigns as Chairman

LD2812135889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1240 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Speech by Federal Assembly Chairman Stanislav Kukral at the joint session of the Federal Assembly chambers in Prague on 28 December—live]

[Text] Before I conclude the joint meeting of the chambers, allow me to deliver the following statement: As has been published in the press already, there was a meeting on Friday 22 December 1989 of the representatives of the following key political forces of Czechoslovakia: the National Front, the Civic Forum in Bohemia and Moravia, the Public Against Violence, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Communist Party of Slovakia and the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Democratic Party, the Freedom Party, the state-wide Coordination Committee of Striking Students, the Slovak Higher Education Establishments' Coordination Committee and the Socialist Youth Union. They agreed that in keeping with the publicly demonstrated will of the Czechoslovak public they consider Vaclav Havel to be the recognized representative of the Czech and Slovak people and of the nationalities living in Czechoslovakia for the post of the president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and they consider Aleksandr Dubcek for the post of the chairman of the Federal Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and I recommend that the Federal Assembly discuss and endorse these proposals.

The Federal Assembly Presidium will meet now in order to announce the laws in the manner set by the constitutional laws on Czechoslovak Federation, which were endorsed by the 19th joint session of the chambers, which has just ended. There also will be separate meetings of the chambers in order to elect new deputies to the vacant posts in respective electoral wards. It is envisaged that after their ending will be held the 20th joint meeting of the chambers, which will be convened by the Federal Assembly Presidium to elect the chairman, the first deputy chairman, and deputy chairman of the the Federal Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. I conclude the 19th joint session of the chambers.

New Presidential Oath Approved

LD2812140789 Prague CTK in English 1313 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 28 (CTK)—At its session today the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly passed by an absolute majority the new wording of the presidential oath.

The oath reads as sollows: "I swear upon my honour and conscience to be loyal to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. I shall cherish the welfare of the nations and nationalities living in it. I shall discharge my duties in accordance with the will of the people and in the interests of the people and abide by the constitution and other laws".

The new wording dropped the part on loyalty to the cause of socialism and stressed the president's respect for the fact that Czechoslovakia is a state of equal nations and nationalities.

Bartoncik Presents Draft Law

LD2812153889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1218 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Speech by Deputy Josef Bartoncik at the 19th joint session of the Federal Assembly chambers in Prague on 28 December—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Chairman, Esteemed Federal Assembly: Over the past few days, the Presidiums of the two Federal Assembly chambers have received a number of resignation letters from Federal Assembly deputies. At the same time, I certainly do not have to emphasize that a very strong demand is coming from the widest public and our voters that the present Federal Assembly, just as it happened in other constitutional bodies, should be rebuilt in a shape that will enable it to fulfil its function and in a composition that meets the present distribution of political forces and the present situation in society. Therefore a group of deputies, members of the Czechoslovak People's Party and the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, and also some deputies who are Czechoslovak Communist Party members, submitted an objective draft of the constitutional law. I would like to stress that this draft also was discussed during the dialogue at the end of th last week with the participation of representatives from all key political forces and that this draft was

accepted at the dialogue, at the forum, in the following shape, which differs slightly from wording No. 228.

I therefore submit the draft of this constitutional law accoring to wording No. 228, but with the following change: In Article one, Paragraph one, sentence three which starts with the words—proposals for new deputies—sounds, in the shape unanimously accepted by the roundtable of key political forces, like this: The proposals for the new deputies are submitted by the political parties after mutual agreement with the Civic Forum in the Czech Socialist Republic [SR] and with the Public Against Violence in the Slovak SR. The roundtable talks proceeded from the premise that the whole number of social organizations is in considerable motion at present. In addition, a number of similar social structures is arising which also want their voices to be heard in this respect, in the case of extending to social organizations the opportunity of proposing. We thought that a rather confusing situation would arise as a consequence of this.

Esteemed colleagues, I would like to emphasize that this draft proposal responds to the present situation in society. What is being submitted is, in fact, a proposal for legal confirmation of the consensus reached with the participation of all, of all key political forces, indeed, during the roundtable talks. I would like to emphasize that these measures do not lay down any kind of precedent for the future. It is clear to all of us that the future constituting [konstituovani] of the Federal Assembly and all supreme legislative and reprsentative corps must be carried out in keeping with legal norms, with those norms in the drafting of which we will be engaged only in the period to come.

I also would like to note the fact that the draft proposal is a concession to the proposal we initially submitted, which recommended recalling the coopting deputies. With regard to the situation that has arisen, and with regard to the fact that a number of deputies have resigned, we dropped the draft of the measure which would permit deputies to be recalled and we propose only to supplement and reconstruct the supreme legislative corps in the proposed form. In this respect, too, I recommend that you endorse the submitted draft.

Dubcek Elected Chairman

LD2812162189 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] The 20th joint session of the two Federal Assembly chambers has ended in Prague.

At the session, the deputies elected Alexander Dubcek the new chairman of the Federal Assembly, Stanislav Kukral was elected first deputy chairman, and Jozef Stank, Zdenek Jicinsky, and Jaroslav Jeneral were elected deputy chairmen.

Dubcek Addresses

LD2812173789 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1506 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Speech by Alexander Dubcek following his election as chairman of the Federal Assembly at the 20th joint session of the Federal Assembly chambers in Prague—live]

[Text] Esteemed Federal Assembly, esteemed guests. Let me thank you for the trust you have shown me by electing me chairman of the Federal Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. I cannot but recall that it was exactly 20 years ago that I had to leave the office which I am entering now.

Deep social changes in our country, which took place after 17 November this year, are the cause for me to be coming back to responsible work in the highest legislative body. I see in this a recognition of a certain continuity of these revolutionary days with Prague Spring of 1968, and a moral satisfaction given to hundreds of thousands of its active participants.

The current peaceful revolution of the Czechoslovak peoples, the core of which is the young generation, and in particular students, will enter the history of our peoples as an unforgettable proof of the high political maturity of the generations of the Czech and the Slovak peoples, and also as a morai-political example for the future development of our nations and the nationalities of our republic.

During these dramatic days we have witnessed a pure, liberating, and as its basis, humane political flow of the Czechoslovak revolution, which unsettled the lifeless dogmas, the stiff administrative-bureaucratic regime, linked with violence and brutality, and the political haughtiness, in which a narrow governing group overlooked the interests of the widest strata of the peoples. The powerful system of dogmatism and antipopular power has broken down.

Consequently, the Federal Assembly admitted the lifelessness and antipopular character of the power structures, something the peoples of our country had known so well for the whole 20 years. This historical lesson for our people, for its highest legislative body (?entered) the consciousness and the civic attitudes of each of us.

I think that the Federal Assembly has proved through its work that it belongs in this place, in this legislative assembly. The moral obligation and the oath of honor obliges everyone, without exception, to fulfil and to defend the Constitution to its last letter, and above all to secure the wholeness, sovereignty, and independence of our homeland as an untouchable basis of the freedom of our nations.

I would like to pay homage to all those deputies, who, not only 21 years ago, but also in the preceding periods, despite the consequences that affected them personally, conducted themselves according to their conscience and

their voters' mandate. I express my sorrow that many of them have not lived to see the present days of revival.

Esteemed Federal Assembly: We are a legislative body which will attract the attention of our people in the months to come. It expresses a certain acknowledgement and conviction of the people of this country that in the coming period we will be the only body of state power which will express and protect their innermost interests.

It will be a place where their aspirations and irreplaceable rights will be realized. The interests of individual political parties and groupings should give ground above all to the all-people and all-nations interests in these Federal Assembly premises. It is mainly the policy aimed at the interest of the people and for the people of our beautiful country which should be born and realized here. Political arguments, joint quests for paths and political solutions could be better resolved in the future in an open dialogue, on the political and cultural level, or perhaps even at a roundtable, where the most complex problems were resolved in the past.

The nature of our new revival movement obliges the Federal Assembly to discuss and approve by the end of its term in office a package of legislative measures proclaimed by the Czechoslovak government of national understanding in its policy statement. A lot of work is awaiting all of us. First and foremost we must ensure, and I would like to stress this, the irreversibility of the democratic development of our society. This means reflecting in practice the demands of the movement and the slogans, such as the freedom of speech, freedom of association and assembly, civic and human rights, and the pluralism of the political system, the new position for the courts and procuracy, the legal profession, and the National Security Corps. We must also draw up a whole number of economic, social and other measures, and apply them in our practical life. We must do everything so that there will never again occur abuse of power for the benefit of a narrow ruling group. The entire power must belong only to the people of this country.

I promise you, and all Czech and Slovak people and the nationalities living in our republic, that in my work I will consistently and in all circumstances defend and observe this supreme principle of state power. Let us work in such a way that free elections will be an expression of the high political and moral awareness and wisdom of our people. The free elections will lay down a lasting foundation for the democratic development of our society in conditions when the freedom of each citizen will represent the basis for the freedom of our state.

On this occasion I also appeal to you, fellow-countrymen abroad: Our country's arms are open for you, too.

Esteemed Federal Assembly: Tomorrow, 29 December, the election of the president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will take place in Vladislavsky Hall according to the Constitutional law of the Czechoslovak Federation. In accordance with the recommendation by all parties of the National Front, of the Civic Forum, of the Public Against Violence, and of a number of other initiatives, which so significantly influenced the political face of our homeland, we will be voting for the proposal of Mr Vaclav Havel for the post of president of the republic. I, too, will cast my vote for him. He is an important Czech patriot, who steadfastly and dauntlessly fought for human rights, for free and democratic development of our peoples.

The fall of 1989 has, in an unrepeated manner unleashed the ideals of the 1968 Prague Spring, and today it inspires our peoples to new and creative actions.

Esteemed deputies! Let us work in such a way that all our deeds be worthy of the grandeur of this era, and that they will fulfil the hopes and trust our people placed in this supreme legislative body. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

President To Be Elected 29 Dec

LD2812191689 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Following the address by newly elected Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek, Stanislav Kukral was elected first deputy chairman and Jozef Stank, Zdenek Jicinsky, and Jaroslav Jeneral were elected deputy chairmen.

In conclusion of today's joint meeting, the deputies of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly did not say good-bye, because they will meet at Vladislav hall of Prague Castle tomorrow at 1000 to elect the president of the republic.

We will broadcast a direct relay of the election, the subsequent military parade, the address of the new president, as well as a thanksgiving mass at St. Vitus' Cathedral on Radio stations Czechoslovakia and Bratislava. It will commence shortly before 1000 [0900 GMT].

Dubcek Congratulated

LD2812200289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Alexander Dubcek has been sent a letter of congratulations on his election as chairman of the Federal Assembly by Ladislav Adamec, chairman of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], and by Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the party Central Committee.

In their letter they stress, among other things, that the CPCZ, which has embarked on a path of renewal, considers the legacy of January 1968 a source of ideological and political inspiration for its new policy focusing on developing democratic socialism.

In their letter, Ladislav Adamec and Vasil Mohorita go on to give assurance of their cooperation in the fulfillment of his constitutional tasks.

Further on Session

LD2912071889 Prague CTK in English 1711 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 28 (CTK)—The Federal Assembly passed [28 December] a constitutional law on the election of new deputies to legislative bodies and a law on the rules of procedure of the Federal Assembly.

The law on the election of new deputies makes it possible to elect them to the Federal Assembly, the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council by direct vote in the representative bodies, not in by-elections. The law aims at reconstruction of legislative bodies so that they can fulfil their function as soon as possible and that their composition be in harmony with the present alignment of political forces.

The law on the rules of the Federal Assembly procedure makes equal the voting on leading functionaries of the Federal Assembly and the voting in the election of the Czechoslovak president. The law is based on voters' demands to control the activities of their deputies in the Federal Assembly.

The House of the People and the House of Nations elected new deputies at their meetings here today.

Thirteen new deputies were elected to the house of the people. They included for example Venek Silhan who temporarily replaced the then first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Alexander Dubcek after August 21, 1968 but was expelled from the party after the assumption of power by the new leadership in April 1969. Charter 77 Spokesman Tomas Hradilek, signatory to the Charter 77 Jaroslav Sabata, preparatory committee member of the Christian Democratic Party Vaclav Benda and Composer Michael Kocab were also elected.

The House of the People took note of the fact that 16 deputies gave up their mandates in the past days, including former leading party and state officials Lubomir Strougal, Miroslav Stepan, Milos Jakes, Antonin Kapek, Alois Indra, Vasil Bilak. Their mandates have thus been annulled.

Ten new deputies were elected to the House of Nations, including party Central Committee first secretary of the "Prague spring" Alexander Dubcek and Ladislav Lis, member of the Czechoslovak Committee for the Defence of Unjustly Persecuted. They replaced the deputies who have given up their mandates—Jan Fojtik, Josef Kempny, Marie Kabrhelova, Viliam Salgovic, Josef Riman, Josef Haman and others. At the same time the House of Nations accepted the resignation of its Chairman Anton Balzej and elected Jozef Stank to this post. It elected deputy Alexander Dubcek to the presidium of the Federal Assembly.

Dubcek Opens 29 Dec Session

LD2912110189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0901 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Speech by Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek opening the 21st joint session of the Federal Assembly chambers in the Vladislav Hall at Prague Castle—live; Dubcek speaks in Slovak]

[Text] Esteemed Federal Assembly, Esteemed Deputies, Esteemed Guests: I welcome you all cordially. I am opening the 21st joint meeting of the Chamber of People and Chamber of Nations of the fifth election period of the CSSR.

On behalf of all deputies, I welcome the members of the federal government; members of the Czech and Slovak National Council Presidiums; members of the governments of the Czeh and Slovak Socialist Republics; representatives of key political forces, churches, culture, and sports; university students; representatives of individual regions and the Czechoslovak People's Army; and other guests.

Esteemed Deputies, since yesterday's meetings of the two chambers, the Federal Assembly has been augmented by newly elected deputies replacing those who resigned. Also, new members of the Presidium and other officials of the Federal Assembly were elected. In this way, the conditions prescribed by law were fulfilled and we can begin our program.

For today's joint chambers meeting, the Federal Assembly Presidium proposed the following agenda:

1. The election of the CSSR president; and

2. The oath of the CSSR president.

Do any deputies have other proposals or comments on this agenda? No? I see that with regard to participation both chambers are able to pass resolutions according to the Article 40 of Constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation. [Here the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations vote unanimously in favor of the proposed agenda]

Both Chambers have agreed unanimously on the today's joint meeting agenda.

Esteemed Deputies, Esteemed Guests: For almost 500 years the ancient Vladislav Hall's Gothic vaulted ceiling has witnessed most of our country's important historical events. Here homage was paid to the Czech kings following their coronations, Sessions of the Estates' assemblies were held here. this hall is linked traditionally with the election of the republic's president. Today the eyes of all Czechoslovak citizens and of Czechoslovakia's friends all over the world again are focused on Prague Castle's Vladislav Hall. Our peoples' top representative body, the Federal Assembly, has been given an important task: To elect the head of state, the CSSR president.

The office of the republic's president enjoys great authority in our country. The president's role is to serve the peoples' most intrinsic interests and to look after our society's advancement, in accordance with the Constitution and other laws. The president's office is an expression of our federal state's firm unity, sovereignty, and independence.

The first point of our session today is the election of a CSSR president. May I ask the federal premier, Mr Marian Calfa, to forward the proposal of the election of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic's president?

Calfa Nominates Havel

LD2912115189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0906 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Speech by Prime Minister Marian Calfa at the 21st joint session of the chambers of the Federal Assembly in the Vladislav Hall of Prague Castle—live; Calfa speaks in Slovak]

[Text] Esteemed Federal Assembly Chairman, Esteemed Deputies, Esteemed Guests:

The past weeks have placed before each citizen of our republic the duty of assuming his own share of personal responsibility for the administration of public affairs. Students, artists, workers, farmers, scientists, and office workers, as well as all those on the streets and in work places have been participating jointly in the decision-making processes affecting our future destiny.

The initial demand for a dialogue among all the country's political forces gradually has spread from Wenceslas Square, not only to the rest of Prague and other towns, but also to state bodies. That dialogue became the basis for the formation of the new government, and also has become the medium of work of the Federal Assembly.

In order for free dialogue to become an indisputable part of political decision-making and management, it is necessary to give an answer to the still-open question of who will be the Czechoslovak president at a time when our country will be completing its transition to democracy. It is precisely today that the moment has come when you, Federal Assembly deputies, will decide by your votes who will be the head of the state at this historic time.

Esteemed Deputies, to vote for a Czechoslovak Republic president is always a responsible act. If today we are to prevent a constitutional and social crisis, three-fifths of you must find a common language. Only thus will you demonstrate that Federal Assembly deputies are capable of meeting the wishes of their electorate, thereby laying another important stone of the edifice of a democratic political regime in our country.

To vote for a president of the Czechoslovak Republic is always an important act. The highest representaive of our state possesses a number of powers the implementation of which is a prerequisite for the overall functioning of the whole political system from the viewpoint of both domestic and foreign policy. The president, as the supreme state and political representative, embodies our sovereign statehood, being last but not least the joint representative of the Czech and Slovak nations and the other nationalities living in our republic. Moreover, the tradition of the president's office, derived from Tomas Garrigue Masaryk, the founder of the modern Czechoslovak state, combines political powers with personal authority, and thereby also with morality.

To vote for a Czechoslovak Republic president is always a ceremonial act. The democratic political culture of our nations, which have demonstrated during the past weeks their viability and strength, surely will also highlight in this historic Prague Castle hall the significance every citizen of our homeland attaches to an election of the president.

In dignity, at the level corresponding to our traditions, in the face of the whole world, today we can demonstrate that the representatives of the Czechoslovak people will succeed in resolving all tasks facing them masterfully and responsibly.

Esteemed Deputies, in accord with the will of the people and the representatives of key political forces in our country and in accordance with my own most profound convinction, I submit to you the proposal to elect Mr Vaclav Havel as Czechoslovak Socialist Republic president.

Mr Vaclav Havel's political and artistic activity is sufficiently known today that it is not necessary to justify the proposal in detail. Allow me, therefore, to state only the main reasons on which rests the proposal I have submitted.

Today Mr Vaclev Havel is the most important representative of the struggle for the morality of democratic politics. His life is an example of a man who stands behind his views despite persecution. The straight line of his political activity, whether as a member of the Club of Committed Nonparty Members in 1968, as the founder and first representative of Charter 77, or as a leading representative of Public Forum, shows his moral greatness and his great experience in work among people. Thereby he has won the respect of all those who can assess the importance of the character features of a politician in modern times.

The moral principles to which Mr Vaclav Havel adheres are a guarantee that democratic dialogue will remain the basis of our newly forming political regime. It is precisely in the new president's political morality that the certainty lies that the public's attention and that of their representatives will concentrate on our country's future, on strengthening democracy, and not on settling personal accounts in the guise of great ideals, as we have witnessed on more than one occasion in the past.

The very fact that Mr Vaclav Havel has made his election conditional on insuring that there will be free

elections, coupled with the provision that a president should elected for the next 5 years only after the new Federal Assembly is elected, as prescribed by the Constitution, testifies to the fact that he remains loyal to his democratic convictions.

Mr Vaclav Havel today is one of the most important representatives, not only of democratic, but also of patriotic forces in this country. He has never accepted either the offers of his friends or the recommendations of his enemies to emigrate someplace where he surely would have had conditions for a more comfortable life. As a prisoner of conscience, he bore with dignity the humiliation of man pushed by a soulless power to the margin of society only in order to remain with his people. By his views and practical deeds he also became one of the architects of the new democratic relations between Czechs and Slovaks. At the same time, as a creative artist, he enriched the treasure house of the culture of our nations and made their talent famous abroad. As a worthy representative of the generation involved in the process of renewal, he was developing the democratic cultural tradition of our nations not only by his creative acts, but also by strenuous organizational work, whether at various times in the leadership of the PEN Club, the Club of Independent Writers, or at the head of the Writers' Community.

Mr Vaclav Havel today is a citizen of our country who enjoys the greatest international authority. It is not only that he is a member of the Council of International PEN Clubs or a holder of many foreign or international artistic prizes. As the most important figure of our democratic circles, foreign statesmen have been in contact with him for many months. Only a man with such credit can represent our sovereignty in the stormy international processes of present-day Europe. Only a man with such credit can be respected today in democratic countries as a reliable partner in long-term agreements which will provide for the secure life of our nations enjoying the most valuable fruits of economic development.

Esteemed Deputies, allow me in conclusions to voice the conviction that your vote for Mr Vaclav Havel is a vote for securing human rights for every person in our country. It is a vote for a dignified and ever-richer life for the people of our dear homeland. Thank you for your attention.

Havel Takes Oath of Office

LD2912120189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0927 GMT 29 Dec 89

[President-elect Vaclav Havel taking the oath of office at the 21st joint session of the chambers of the Federal Assembly in the Vladislav Hall of Prague Castle—live]

[Text] [Havel] On my honor and conscience I swear my loyalty to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. I will look after the wellbeing of the nations and nationalities living in it. I will discharge my duties in accordance with the will of the people and in their interest. I will observe the Constitution and other laws. [at this point the national anthem is played]

[Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek, in Slovak] Esteemed Mr President, I congratulate you on behalf of all those here present and on behalf of all our people on your election as our head of state. I wish you long life, firm health, and joy from the successes of our joint work for the flourishing of our homeland, for a lasting and just peace. I congratulate you. [applause]

Biography of President Havel

LD2912111889 Prague CTK in English 1036 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 29 (CTK)—Vaclav Havel was born in Prague on October 5, 1936. In 1951 he ended compulsory school education. Since he was born to a prominent business family he could not continue studies. He worked as an apprentice and in a chemical laboratory for four years and at the same time attended secondary school evening classes. When he was twenty he started publishing essays and articles in literary and theatrical journals. A cultural tradition which characterized his family's life orientated his ideas towards humanistic values of Czech culture which were suppressed in the 1950's. Due to cadre reasons he was not enrolled to universities majoring in the arts subjects and therefore he studied at a technical college for two years and was in military service for two years. After he returned he worked as a stage technician. Since 1960 he had worked in the Prague Theatre on the Balustrade where his first plays were performed. A primary position among his works was occupied by the Garden Party (1963). The play represented the strong regeneration trend in Czech art and society. This trend culminated in 1968 with the "Prague Spring" in which Vaclav Havel took part. After the Prague Spring ended with the invasion of the Warsaw Treaty troops Vaclav Havel continued to stick to his ideas. His plays, both the old and new ones, were banned in Czecholovakia.

Vaclav Havel won high renown as early as in the 1960's. In the 1970's and the 1980's Havel protested against general oppression characteristic of the years of "normalization" and was one of the founders and first three spokesmen of the Charter 77 civic initiative.

He was three times imprisoned for altogether about five years. He drew on the period of oppression not only to write new plays but also the internationally known book of correspondence from prison "Letters to Olga" and three books of essays. For his works and activities of a human rights campaigner Vaclav Havel was awarded significant international prizes, e.g. the 1986 Erasmus of Rotterdam Prize, the 1989 German Book Publishers' Peace Prize and the 1989 Olof Palme Prize.

Havel Addresses Crowd

LD2912121289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1145 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Speech by CSSR President Vaclav Havel at Prague Castle on 29 December—live]

[Text] Dear friends, a short while ago the Federal Assembly unanimously elected me president of our republic. [cheering] I thank all of you—Czechs, Slovaks, and members of the other nationalities for your support. I promise not to disappoint your trust and I shall lead this country to free elections. [cheering and chanting] This will have to be done in a decent and peaceful manner in order to ensure that the pure face of our revolution is not soiled. This is the task for all of us. Thank you. [cheering]

* Havel's Last 20 Years, Ideology, Actions

90EC0165A Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 13 Dec 89 p 38

[Hakon Harket article: "Havel's Ideas—Over 20 Years"]

[Text] Vaclav Havel has dedicated his life to thinking. He is the Socrates of our time. But he is also a Cassandra who has had a mysterious insight into the gloomy prophecies that he actually has delivered. His literary work provides the answer to the question as to who actually is going to move into the position of national leader now.

And now? The question tells of a unique experience—"an experiencing of absurdity," Vaclav Havel wrote in one of his letters from prison to his wife, Olga. It is an infectious question, he wrote—an extremely expressive question that, by sowing doubt, runs the risk of harvesting a world without meaning. "The last islands of meaningful existence drown irretrievably in the ocean of nothingness."

Consequently, reality and its moral agonies seem so crazy to one who has spent 5 years of his dramatic life behind walls for an apparently unshakable belief in the value of truth. Against these two words—"and now?"—that issue an invitation to a senseless dance at the masquerade ball of vacuity, Havel wagers his life and brings the scales into balance in that way. On the one side, a life lived in truth, and on the other side, a life beyond good and evil.

The last 20 years of Vaclav Havel's life have been a continual protest against totalitarianism's standardized stupidity. It is a struggle with which most Europeans want to be identified, whether they are Christians, Jews, atheists, Moslems or are content to be the center of attention as dancers. As one of Charter 77's three spokesmen, was it precisely the universal acceptance of civil rights to which Havel urged the world in general to give its support?

That was what it was. But the ideological revolt the nonpartisan Charter movement mobilized, nevertheless, was rooted in an intellectual resistance struggle that is hard to separate from the results it obtained.

Is that intellectual anchor identical with our grapnel?

Havel seldom fails to emphasize his amateurishness in the many activities in which his commitment has involved him. His philosophy really does not constitute an exception. Whether it is in a conversation with Karel Hvizdala ("Interrogation by Radio") or in abstract confidences to his wife ("Letter to Olga"), he presents his reflections as more or less accidentally scraped-together profundities that he was not able to avoid. However, one does not have to spend much time on Havel's meditations before one understands that he is confronted by a fundamental summarization of existence.

Havel quite definitely is no systematic philosopher. He has that trait in common with most thinkers of the 20th century who have not contented themselves with handling other people's property. Havel is a Socratic thinker, or, to carry it all the way out, with Andre Glucksmann, Havel is the Socrates of our time. Havel dedicates his life to thinking, with an intellectual honesty and an existential sensitivity that reacts allergically to falsehood.

He also does not disguise the fact that he thinks in a European tradition of thought that, in contemporary Czech philosophy, seeks to restore a binding ethic. More than anybody else, it is the Charter's first spokesman, Jan Patocka, who has supported and elaborated the intellectual heritage through the period of "night, war, and death," which is his own characterization of the 20th century.

Patocka was not a political man in the usual meaning of the word. He lived through stormy decades in the heart of Europe without reacting in a militant manner. He regarded it as his task to reflect over the meaning of existence, to question history and show concern for the soul and, by so doing, also for death, which he also regarded as philosophy's essential mission. He was a pupil of Edmund Husserl's who himself incurred the wrath of Nazi Germany with his humanistic ontology. Thus the noble thinker stepped forward from his philosophic exile into the political arena for the first time as spokesman for Charter 77 at the age of 70. Three months later he was a martyr after a political interrogation lasting 11 hours.

In "Heretical Studies in the Philosophy of History," Patocka speaks for the European tradition of thought in the Kierkegaardian manner by himself rendering it visible in the course of thought in the search for the meaning of history. He stirs up a cycle of insoluble dilemmas that people create by being very intense. Humanity's existential mission is to discipline the orgiastic element under an accountability that makes up for the big upheaval in West European life that came in the 16th century: "Not concern for the soul, not concern for existence, but concern for possessing." It was concern for

the soul that shaped Europe, Patocka asserts. That concern has no home in the existing technical civilization, but it exists as an individual project. At the same time, one must not be deluded into believing that existential well-being is a private matter that can develop in a social vacuum. As was the case with Socrates, Patocka indicates society—history's own space—as the place where the soul should be cared for. He pins his faith on the expectation that the solidarity of those who have been shaken may be conducive to the crowning of the cultural resistance struggle with victory—a solidarity that, like Socrates' "daemonion," finds expression in admonitions and prohibitions.

Patocka's idea of "those who have been shaken" refers specifically to those who have experienced the falseness of optimism regarding progress and have been vaccinated against social utopias and political adventures. The entire black-as-night nightmare that the 20th century has been able to offer is bound up with the appearance of boredom in the historical arena that is contemporary with the mechanization of life. "Demonism reached its peak just at the era of maximum sobriety and rationality." Our age's collective metaphysical experience is boredom!

That has its political correlative in indifference. "The tragedy of modern man lies not in the fact that one actually knows less and less about his own life's meaning, but rather in the fact that it bothers him less and less," Havel wrote. Now he himself sits in the seat of power, against his wish but according to his will. And that is in spite of the fact that he thinks the intellectual's mission is to prophecy terrible things and to be a Cassandra who gives notice of what is going on within the walls.

Once Cassandra has ascended the throne, a question immediately arises: "And now?" With the fulfilling of his civil rights Christmas list, Havel, in fact, is still in the midst of his life's struggle, where the answer is the question, where belief is doubt and where fear of loss of meaning is just as insistent a stimulus to thought as in the labor camp in Hermanice. Two words still separate him from the great nothing. It is the search for meaning that has accompanied the absurd drama's champion from the theatrical scene to the cell and back to the political scene. It will hardly end there. Havel has never looked for existential redemption in politics.

No short cut leads to freedom. That has become clearer now here at home, too, where we unthinkingly decorate ourselves with our institutionalized freedom. Totalitarianism's collapse makes it possible to think and see clearly —without ideological reservations—that freedom, as soon as the constitutional guarantees are secured, is constantly the field of activity of the mind. The never-ending search for freedom is a moral project, when all is said and done, a mental affair that guarantees humanity its worthiness. No political engineer's art can alleviate the pain over God's death. We, who are citizens of a nation where joint welfare gives birth to blind violence and mute sex, know that. In "Interrogation by Radio," Vaclav Havel said that the human identity crisis, which he considers to be a universal phenomenon, is his fundamental dramatic theme, as it also was Jan Patocka's.

"Therefore the individual's actual question is not put between liberalism and socialism or between democracy and totalitarian systems, which, irrespective of all deep distinctions, have in common the fact that they disregard everything that is not objective and is not a role to be played. Therefore, the resolution of conflicts among them also cannot produce any answer to the question regarding the human race's placement in its proper place, redemption from humanity's bewilderment outside of itself and the place where humanity belongs."

Vaclav Havel's daring political deed is a daring metaphysical deed above anything else.

Havel Addresses Kladno Rally 21 Dec

LD2312141389 Bratislav Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Vaclav Havel, candidate for the post of the president of the republic, participated in a rally of citizens and workers of the Klandno district which took place this afternoon on Revolution Square in Kladno.

In his speech he noted that he was pleased by the vote of confidence given to him by his fellow citizens. Regarding fears that the forthcoming real economic reform might lead to social upheavals, unemployement, and other phenomena, he said that there were experts in the government who had prepared a program of gradual switching over to a real economic reform that would lead to the prosperity of our entire society.

Federal Assembly Statement on August 1968

AU1912110389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Dec 89 p 6

["Standpoint on the Year 1968," approved at the 17th joint meeting of both chambers of the CSSR Federal Assembly in Prague on 12 December]

[Text] The Federal Assembly approved a standpoint on the intervention by five socialist states in August 1968.

The deputies to the CSSR Federal Assembly, being aware of the seriousness of the present domestic political situation when Czechoslovak society has found itself in crisis as a result of incorrect assessment of past developments and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia leadership's unwillingness to take up a genuine renewal of socialism and the restructuring of economic and, in particular, social life, state that the entry by the troops of five Warsaw Pact member states into the territory of the CSSR in 1968 violated the valid norms of international law and the principles of relations between sovereign states.

The people of Czechoslovakia were able in 1968 to settle their vitally important problems on their own because the ideas of democratic socialism were so strong in the awareness of our citizens that, given our democratic traditions, they would have triumphed were it not for the power intervention.

The military intervention by the five Warsaw Pact member states made it impossible to solve the situation in Czechoslovakia by political means and, quite the reverse, contributed to the liquidation of the reform of the economic and social life. In particular, it led to the interruption of efforts at democratization and at Czechoslovakia's own path of developing the socialist society.

The deputies to the CSSR Federal Assembly voice support for the foreign political negotiations conducted by the Czechoslovak Government with the aim of solving in the legal sense questions connected with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the CSSR territory in such a way that, in a link-up to the all-European Helsinki process, stability and balance of interests of the Warsaw Pact member states, NATO member states, and neutral states on the European continent is guaranteed.

In the present complex international situation deputies to the CSSR Federal Assembly will support the CSSR Government in its efforts at the development of cooperation with all states, in the interest of mutually advantageous integration [propojeni], particularly with European economy, culture, and civilization in conjunction with the results achieved in confidence-building and security on the European continent.

Dienstbier Addresses Federal Assembly 19 Dec

LD2012053989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1647 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Speech by Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier at the joint session of the Federal Assembly in Prague on 19 December—live]

[Text] Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I am glad that in this debate foreign policy was discussed several times, inasmuch as this proves that we are all aware of the significance of foreign policy for our country. I also welcome the suggestion that I meet foreign committees of parliament where we can further clarify some questions. If I were to answer all the questions which were raised here I would probably have to make an entire new and long program statement and you no doubt understand that after a week in office we are not prepared for anything like that, and it will take us some time to specify and analyze all the questions which we are encountering and to formulate the appropriate proposals. Therefore, I am only mentioning the actual questions which have been raised here. Mr Deputy Michalsky asked about abolishing border tourism with Poland. I think that so far I can say that the basic political decision is to do away with all the obstacles in relations, and tus also such obstacles with Poland. The secretary of state of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs Mr Kulski, was here a few days ago, and during the talks with him we agreed that we will set up a commission to discuss all the possibilities of arriving at a solution as soon as possible. Naturally, this is an economic question first of all. The Ministry of Finance is obviously working on economic prerequisites which would enable us as soon as possible to do away with obstacles in relations with Poland.

As to the address of Mr Deputy Svercina—Mr Deputy Svercina likes some metaphors and does not like others—he likes relay buttons and does not like the iceberg. At the same time, he talked about many international contacts which have existed here in the past 20 years. Perhaps I should say that if he compares the number of foreign visits to Czecoslovakia with the number and significance of visits, for example, to Hungary and Poland, he will arrive at a clear conclusion. I should like to add that there was a lot of interest in improving international relations; I must even say that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, also in past times, prepared various proposals and they were not approved, and it could not implement certain things. Of course, the basic thing was that many of these positive attempts were foiled by those who, while aware of the responsibility for the destruction of Czechoslovak society and 20-year-long backwardness of our country, in an attempt to save their power positions, which they accepted from the hands of Brezhnev's reactionary leadership, they implemented the antidemocratic policy of persecutions and even violence against our people in the current year, and thus made it impossible for us to establish much better relations with the world. This is now changing, and it is changing as fast as this peaceful revolution in Czechoslovakia. Thus I said that the Czechoslovak policy is changing from that of a brake in the development of cooperation to an active factor in the European and Helsinki process. I think that this is a fairly exact formulation.

Further, there was a question here concerning the statement of Mr Streibl and our relation to the shifting of Sudeten Germans and the affairs connected with this. I do not think that Mr Streibl chose a convenient moment to demand from the government, which at that time was in office only 3 days, expression of its views on this question. It is a very complicated question, transfers of population are known well in history, and as we know, they occur even during the present months. I only want to say briefly that on Sunday I agreed with Minister Mock to set up a commission of historians which would examine these questions and close the issue once and for all. I also want to agree, on Saturday, with Minister Genscher who invited me to meet him at the Czecoslovak-German border, about setting up a commission of historians and lawyers which would assess all the questions concerning these issues. However, one has to note that—I should like to say this now—that just as the Germans are trying, and in many respects have succeeded—to admit National Socialist injustice toward our peoples, it is our moral duty to express our view also about what happened to innocent German women and

children in 1945 in the areas of Znojmo and south of Brno and in many other areas. I think it is our moral duty because it is the only way we can shake off this heritage and truly, from scratch, approach the renewal and improvement of contacts between our peoples. So far, this is all; if you have any further questions when, in a few weeks, we produce a more extensive conceptual statement, we can discuss it here. Thank you for your attention.

Komarek Federal Assembly Address 19 Dec

LD2012094989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1445 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Speech by Vlatr Komarek, first deputy prime minister, at the 19 December Federal Assembly session in Prague—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Federal Assembly. Many questions have been asked about economic problems with regard to the government's policy statement. I think that it would not be wise to answer one after another. We would like to take advantage of your kindness and the right to answer individual questions within 30 days. However, I believe it proper to speak about the essence of these questions because I understand that they are justified and I understand that beneath them might be concerns and a lack of understanding which need to be clarified.

The basic group of these issues was understandably connected with the Poles on the social securities of our population: that is with the problems of unemployment, inflation or on the contrary, the stability of currency, stability of savings, and the social position of old age pensioners. It is natural, as these issues are rather important and must be properly answered.

The other group of issues which were put forward here on a number of occasions concerned very important ecological problems which justifiably concern the public and which also must be answered.

Finally, the third key group of issues concerned the change for the market economy, hidden problems involved in achieving this change and possible risks, or the other way round, that is, possible results and achievements.

I would like, with your permission, to concentrate on these three groups of issues and within their framework, I would also like to speak about the specific follow-up issues, about employment, some aglomerations, and so on. I would like to respond to this 3-hour discussion in 10 minutes and therefore please excuse me if I abbreviated my remarks because everything cannot really be explained as fully as it should.

In the Policy Statement, we are proceeding from the analysis of the situation in Czechoslovak economy, its current state, problems, possibilities and international relations. [passage omitted]

I would, however, like to say that everything shows that the situation in the Czechoslovak economy is relatively serious, that it suffers from a number of ailments that should not be prolonged. We have an enormous industrial front, we have excessive heavy industry, and this vast industry and associated production, or production branches, of transport and agriculture is so great that we are unable to keep it up today with regard to investments. You have all felt it yourself. We all feel that today we have no money for updating the processing industry. Textiles, light industry is in a relatively catastrophic situation. Classical food processing such as sugar refineries, distilleries, and traditional parts of the food processing are in bad shape. It must, however, be said objectively that if we speak about the hypertrophy of heavy industry, the technical base of black metallurgy in a number of areas is in a very bad state, the technical base of entire areas of the machinebuilding industry is in a bad shape. We could speak about the almost catastrophic state of railway transport in many of its sections.

Many other problems could be discussed too. It is clear that we are unable to invest more in this industry in the given circumstances and even less to update it because even if we might have some funds for investments, we have much less to import top quality technical equipment and technology on which this updating and new technology depend. This inhibits the growth of investment into the nonproduction sphere and infrastructure.

Housing stock and the stock of public buildings and other buildings have deteriorated badly. This has gradually added to the accummulation of ecological problems which, in their current form, have become explosive.

At the same time, the demands for raw material and power of our economy is increasing. Our production is ever more ravenous: It wants not only investments but energy and material too, and production costs as such are increasing. You might remember the time when production costs of, let us say, a car was around 15,000 kcs and today it is 40,000 kcs. This is not inflation going up; this is brought about by production becoming ever more expensive. Investment costs per unit of output in power stations, or per unit of capacity in cement works, in plants producing panels, in everything comparable are 3 times, 5 times, sometimes 10 times higher than at the beginning of the Sixties.

This economy which has become so excessive is today in a blind alley in investments, in ecology, in cost, in export, and is unable to reproduce itself in a normal way. There are only two possibilities: either to try and continue to prolong this development and wait for the unfavorable results—because we have to see that real wages in Czechoslovakia have been stagnating for 10 years and we should also not forget problems in ecology and in lagging behind in scientific-technical development which could finally bring us to the brink of an economic crisis with far-reaching consequences; or we

could try to concentrate on some great problems: for example in ecology we could change over to gas in the existing steam power stations in the Czech lands. But today's consumption is 200 gigajoules per person. If we do not cut this consumption and if we try to solve the situation by further export when out of today's export balance 25 percent is formed by export of energy then it means tying up other possibilities, it means excluding coal mining at home, it means dismissing miners, and it means that we shall slowly get rid of some problems but on the other hand we shall create problems with regard to employment and to living standards.

After careful consideration and a number of long discussions which were conducted at our scientific places of work, in collectives and colleges over the years, and taking into consideration foreign experience, the government has chosen a third path toward a solution. This path is very demanding. This means following a path which will try to make use of the potential which Czechoslovakia has and is not making use of, that is the human, industrial and agricultural potential—although this has been weakened—in such a way that we move toward the path of economic prosperity.

This, in our view, is the only way to maintain or secure the social security of the population. Only a prospering economy, getting richer, can secure for people a good living standard and quality of life. Otherwise we will be creating ilusions. This path, however, means changing the entire system of management, basically changing the behavior of economic subjects.

Our orientation toward modern market economy is not, a priority, the subjective will of a political decision. In the given situation it is the only possible way how to get out of this vicious circle of the persisting behavior of our enterprises, of how to make economic subjects change their attitude altogether, so that their income really depends on what they produce, and that the growth of people's income is always linked with the growth in supply of goods to the population or for export. Consequently, no further imbalance between income and supply of goods on the market will be able to occur.

According to our analysis, this orientation is our only strategic way out. It is not an experiment, it is a careful assessment of our entire situation. It is the only way tested by modern history which has shown in the last 50 years that only a well-operating market economy has a chance of being continuously prosperous on a long-term basis. This means, naturally as the policy statement has shown, following the path of decentralization and demonopolization.

One should say openly that that which was drawn up for the purposes of economic reform has not emerged properly at all in this respect. In our view this was a one-way street, making space for the enterprises while maintaining their monopoly and a high total demand for the oversaturation and the hunger for materials and investments in the economy. Thus the new enterprises, which gained space and which maintain their supply monopoly, are entering this high demand and are possessing all pre-requisites to unleash upwards the spiral of inflation.

[passage omitted: state enterprises in engineering, fuel, communications have become fewer, but employ on average 10 times more people than their equivalent in the West. While the smaller enterprises in the West are much more flexible, the so-called reform selected an altogether opposite way—the way of further monopolization]

The sum of this is that if this further development is not to hit the working people, then it must hit hard the production. It must exert economic pressure upon the production.

[passage omitted: Czechoslovakia cannot continue using excessive amounts of raw and processed materials, such as cement]

We cannot pour this cement into the projects, like Nagymaros, which will probably be acknowledged by nobody today, despite the fact that it costs 15 billion [currency not specified] or more and that it is a huge consumer of cement.

And so, many problems for choosing this economic policy exist. We are optimists because we think that opening the market and bringing in competition will result in changing the behavior of the enterprises and that it must unavoidably result in this, that it will have to lead to greater economy and that it will also lead to the competitiveness of our economy, when its opening will be able to bring very quickly the improvement of the situation in the national economy.

Our exports are very restricted nowadays. We export about 1,200 dollars per head as opposed to 6,000 - 8,000 or 10,000 in comparable countries such as Belgium, Holland, and Sweden, while 80 percent of this export goes to socialist countries. Our real export in true hard currencies, which would provide imports of high quality consumer goods for our home market and imports of high quality equipment for modernization of the industry, is negligible and is at the level of developing countries—it is in the region of 300 - 400 per head.

Theoretically, we have an opportunity to raise the exports very fast, because the imports of Western countries show our exports as per milles and playing an absolutely inappreciable role on their markets. With regard to our development in recent weeks, the situation in the world is changing and the opportunities are opening up for our joining in West European international markets of the Western advanced countries and therefore there exists a chance to very quickly liberalize the trade. For us the point is not to join any particular integrations, which we would naturally like to join, but it depends on many complex relations with many partners. The point is to de facto change the situation, to liberalize

foreign trade and get rid of all the contingents, customs, or other barriers which restrict our exports to these countries.

[passage omitted: expanding on the same topic, noting tourism as a source of income, flexible conditions will have to be created to make full use of its potential].

So, we don't regard these questions in a defeatist manner. We think that opportunities do exist for the Czechoslovak economy. I know that there are a lot of doubting people. There is a habit to speak about the economy in terms of sweat and tears, and to adopt a very, very constrained attitude. [passage omitted: Western politicians assess our situation in much more favorable terms than it is assessed by us and therefore defeatism and pessimism have no place in economic policy; market system represents decisive means aimed at changing the behavior of economic bodies]

In this way we shall be able to continually solve the question of employment in our economy. And because the questions revolve around this topic. I would just like to say that approximately 7.8 million people are working in our country today. A number of worries about structural changes do, of course, exist. In this respect these worries are exaggerated. Much has been said here about miners. You see—and the government must take care of this—we must reduce the extraction of brown coal. The ecological catastrophy proceeds first and foremost from the fact that we are burning our brown coal, which is one of the most difficult in the world as far as its ingredients and content of not only sulphur but all others are concerned. Its dissulphirization and purification is also a problem. This means that there is no other way out. If we don't want to be suffocated, and if we stand for ecology, then we must make a decision. [passage omitted: examples of pollution caused by burning coal, power stations should be transformed gas, but no specific views how this should be done]

We should act very energetically in this respect and this will, of course, impact on the extraction itself and on employment in the extraction sphere. But no catastrophy exists in this respect, if you please. Some 165,000 people are working in the entire sphere of fuels, and if several tens of thousands of people are affected [Komarek changes thought] This economy is of such dimensions, there are so many vacant jobs, that this would not be a problem. Even when one takes the 18 percent workforce migration in metallurgical and fuel sphere, when several hundred thousands of people are generally changing their employer every year, then while regulating this process, there is no problem to reach a sensible level in a space of 5 - 7 years, without any redundancies of a more drastic nature.

The problem lies in the fact that there are perhaps 1 - 1.5 million people who are surplus to requirements. We pursued the policy of cheap labor, we were solving the standard of living by increasing the number of incomes in a family, and therefore nowadays almost every person, each woman is in employment, and we are tolerating 1 million people in administration and management. These are not ministries, these are people in all enterprises, in establishments, simply in all links—in the health clinics—simply everywhere. There is an enormous administrative apparatus everywhere, in the design sphere, in all links. And, of course, we cannot sustain this employment while maintaining great efficiency and an ability to compete with the world. This is where a huge problem lies. [passage omitted: proposals how this question should be tackled in case of women's employment and in hitherto low-paid service sphere]

In this respect we must open up a vent for small enterprises and entrepreneurs, including private ownership, because there is no other mechanism. [passage omitted: people must be given the opportunity to make money, some will even go bankrupt and will have to start again]

Nothing can be guaranteed beforehand, nothing can be secured by state enterpreneuring. Thee is a need for thousands of small enterprises and small enterpreneurs, which needs to be created in order to increase the offer on our home market.

I do not want to speak for too long. I only want to say that we have to orient ourselves at a restriction of the amount of money in circulation [Masy obeziva] and at a restruction of the state budget. We could regulate these things sensibly but it does not mean to promise that big problems will not occur. We will not be able to secure in these conditions when the economy will come to life a job at everybody's place of abode and the same wage. This means also that people will have to move to get a job, they will have to change professions too because it is possible to orient ourselves at securing overall employment and at securing the living standard but not in the way it used to be done when a small factory was built in every village and then there was smoke everywhere and there was a general need for long-distance goods transport. It would therefore be not right to say that there will be no change in the employment situation and in wages and that no hard restriction in the budget will take place.

We must be able to see also our great possibilities in research, health care, and education. We still think that development in these areas depends on the quantity of invested funds. We forget that the quality of the results of this area has by now nothing to do with the quantity of invested funds. In spite of the fact that the amount of money spent on each pupil is 3-5 times as high as 20 years ago the achieved quality of final results of teaching went down. The quality of teachers and lectures and their knowledge deteriorated. This was something which ought to have been kept high. But mechanical placement by using a political key which disregarded professional capabilities naturally influenced these processes.

In health care there are so many rules that even a short illness cannot be treated without an agreement with an

employer and this paper work overburdens district doctors. The restoration of family practitioners who has the trust of their patients could help. [passage omitted]

In research money is often taken from the budget and results are often nil. Scientists do not need the ability to earn their keep. We could use a more rational approach, being at the same time very considerate and ethical and also very demanding.

I am sorry I spoke for so long. I only wanted to show you that our plan is quite well-thought out and we think that it should yield results very quickly. We would like to deal with things quickly so the situation will be changed and more dynamic month by month because we realize the responsibility of the new government and we realize that the joyful horizons opening before our people would not be as attractive without an advancing economy as we want them to be. Thank you.

Further Signs of Reform Evident in Papers, Radio

Independent Publishing Coop Authorized

AU1912143189 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 7 Dec 89 p 5

["kch"-signed report: "Atlantis Cooperative Licensed"]

[Excerpts] The Atlantis publishing cooperative, which was founded in February this year, was awarded a publishing license by the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Socialist Republic on 30 November. Jan Sabata, the cooperative's chairman, said in connection with this decision: "The publishing license only concerns fiction, and we will therefore soon apply for its extension to include literature on the social sciences, which is, understandably, in great demand. In 1990 we plan to publish at least 10 to 15 titles of poetry and fiction, including Vaculik's 'Czech Dream Book.' [passage omitted] Last week we held talks with Brno Mayor R. Pernica, who voiced full support for the project. [passage omitted] We have also held preliminary talks with the aim of acquiring a license for direct foreign trade activity. We intend to cooperate closely with the Association of Friends of the Atlantis Publishing Cooperative in the FRG, which is chaired by Mr Tomas Kosta."

First Issue of SD Paper

AU1912155689

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 14 December on page 2 publishes a 30-word report stating that the "first issue of PRAVO LIDU [Right of People], the organ of the Czechoslovak Social Democrats," was distributed in Prague on 13 December. On 15 December, on page 2, RUDE PRAVO carries a 400-word undated interview with Vladimir Soukup, PRAVO LIDU editor-in-chief, by Kamila Jaskova entitled "PRAVO LIDU After 41 Years." Soukup says that PRAVO LIDU builds on the more than 100-year-old tradition of social democratic press in Czechoslovakia, which was "violently interrupted" 41 years ago. The paper is to express views of members of the renewed Social Democratic Party and to act as "an organizer of the social democratic movement in Czechoslovakia." In the interview, Soukup also expresses the wish that RUDE PRAVO stop carrying in its heading the subtitle PRAVO LIDU (which it has carried since the merger of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Social Democratic Party in 1948) because "to us this seems extremely unsuitable and does not correspond to the true state of affairs." The interview with Soukup is followed by a 20-word editorial note stating that the RUDE PRAVO editorial board has decided to remove from its heading the subtitle PRAVO LIDU with effect from 15 December.

Independence for Various Periodicals

AU1912105389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Dec 89 p 2

["ZA"-signed report in the "Per Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] Effective immediately, the RUDE PRAVO publishing house grants full ideological [ideovou] and content independence to the editorial offices of the weeklies KVETY, DIKOBRAZ, CZECHOSLOVAK TELEVISION, ROZHLAS, HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, and the periodical CO VAS ZAJIMA. At the same time, the editorial office affirms the independence of the weekly TVORBA as of 30 November, as reported in TVORBA No. 49.

Chief on Planned Independent Daily

AU2312170789

[Editorial Report] Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech on 18 December on page 2 carries an undated 600-word interview with Jiri Ruml, chief editor of the samizdat monthly LIDOVE NOVINY, by Bedrich Drozd entitled "What Will It Be Like?" In the interview, Ruml discusses plans to launch LIDOVE NOVINY as an independent daily next year. Ruml says that in the first week of January one issue of LIDOVE NOVINY will be published, followed by two issues a week—probably on Tuesdays and Fridays—in the subsequent weeks. "After approximately a quarter of a year, once the editorial team is sufficiently established," Ruml says, "we want to switch to being a daily." Ruml notes that LIDOVE NOVINY will have 6 pages in VECERNI PRAHA's format, plus a 12-page supplement on Fridays, which will be "in the hands of writers." LIDOVE NOVINY should come out in 500,000 copies, 300,000 of which will be printed in Prague and 200,000 in Brno.

New Chief Editor Proposed

AU2912123989 Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 18 Dec 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Change at the Head of VECERNI PRAHA"]

[Text] As we reported previously, our editorial staff passed a vote of no confidence in the editorial board of VECERNI PRAHA. On Friday [15 December] we agreed on our candidate, whom we propose to the RUDE PRAVO publishing house for appointment as chief editor. It is Josef Richter, until now head of the VECERNI PRAHA culture rubric.

Radio To Carry Religious Programs

LD2212120489 Vatican City International Service in Czech 1830 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] An agreement was reached this afternoon, Tuesday 20 December, during a meeting between representatives of the churches and Karel Stary, Czechoslovak radio director, that beginning 1 January 1990 regular religious programs will be broadcast by radio, as well as direct relays of Sunday Holy Mass on an ecumenical basis.

Delegates Enforce Change in Urbanek's Report

AU2912105489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Dec 89 p 2

[Vlastimil Bradac article: "One Sentence Was Missing"]

[Text] In its Thursday [21 December] issue, [Prague] MLADA FRONTA [in Czech] wrote, inter alia, the following about the Report of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium to the extraordinary party congress:

"Characteristic of the report is the passage devoted to 17 November...'direct political responsibility for the intervention by order-enforcing units is borne by M. Jakes and M. Stepan,' Karel Urbanek said among other things. The following sentence shocked us, however: 'The organizers of the rally, too, cannot shed their share of responsibility'."

So much for MLADA FRONTA. Attentive readers telephoned us, inquiring why this sentence was not to be found in RUDE PRAVO, which published the report in its entirety the same day. Why?

Responding to delegates' critical remarks, Karel Urbanek said in the further course of the deliberations that he deems it suitable to delete this sentence from the report, of which the delegates approved. This is also how CTK rendered the report, which is why our daily, too, deleted the above sentence from the report, acting in harmony with the wish of the congress.

Stepan Reportedly in Prison for 'Abuse of Power'

LD2812183489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] MIroslav Stepan, former member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium, and former leading secretary of the Prague City Party Committee, has been in jail since 23 December, accused of the crime of abuse of power as a public official.

This news was published today by VECERNI PRAHA, which cites as its source a communication from staff of the Prosecutor General's Department.

Media Briefed on CPCZ Congress, DFK

AU2912081689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Dec 89 p 4

["(ada)"-signed report on the news conferences given by Vasil Mohorita, Central Committee Presidium member and secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and by Rudolf Prevratil, spokesman of the Democratic Forum of Communists, in Prague on 20 December: "Reporting on News Conferences"]

[Text] Prague (By Our Reporter)—The Wednesday [20 December] press conference with Vasil Mohorita was held in a question-and-answer form. One of the questions was: Can you explain the difference between the office of party chairman and that of party general secretary? V. Mohorita's reply was: The proposals voiced at the congress proceed from the thought that it would be useful to introduce the office of chairman, who would actually represent the state of relationship between the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] and other political partners. The first secretary, who is also being mentioned, would manage the party. It is only natural that we want to avoid the term "general secretary."

Asked whether he would serve as candidate for the office of chairman, V. Mohorita replied that, although his name did actually appear in the list of candidates, the final decision would be made by the congress.

Replying to the question about the CPCZ's current exchange of experience with countries with identical or similar problems, he declared that the exchange of experience during the past month was practically nil. I believe that the contacts will be most certainly renewed after the congress, V. Mohorita stated in answering this question.

The next question was: What was your relationship with Vaclav Havel a year ago? V. Mohorita replied that it corresponded to the knowledge and propaganda of that time.

Quite a number of questions dealt with the events of 17 November, with V. Mohorita's attitude toward the Democratic Forum of Communists, and with his views on the possibility of a split within the Communist Party.

Then he was asked whether the extraordinary congress would ask the Federal Assembly deputies to give up their mandates. His answer was: You know that talks have been held at the round table, and that the participants have agreed on the need to restructure the CSSR Federal Assembly. The CPCZ has stated that it would release a certain number of deputy seats. The deputies who cannot guarantee Czechoslovakia's further democratic development will leave the Federal Assembly. But this

has already been agreed on, so that the congress would in fact be professing its allegiance to an already existing agreement.

At the press conference held by the representatives of the Democratic Forum of Communists [DFK], DFK spokesman Rudolf Prevratil presented to the press certain members of the 14-member Statewide Coordination Committee of the DFK, which was set up that very Wednesday [20 December] morning. Taking part in the press conference were: Ivone Strakova from Brno, Fridrich Hlava from Bratislava, Milan Taraba from Liberec, and Jan Krol from Banska Bystrica.

After Karel Urbanek's statement, the delegates enabled the DFK representatives to present their stands. However, these had been prepared prior to the establishment of the Statewide Coordination Committee and in fact represented only the views of DFK members in Prague, R. Prevratil declared. In the new set-up we have not agreed on this statement of attitude; however, this is no tragedy. On the contrary, this testifies to the pluralism of views, he stated. What was agreed on, the DFK spokesman said, was the paper "What the DFK is Bringing to the Extraordinary CPCZ Congress"; RUDE PRAVO carried its text on Wednesday [20 December].

Details on Outcome of Election of CPCZ Leaders

AU2912101489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Dec 89 p 1

[Editorial: "From Several Candidates"]

[Text] As we reported previously, at the close of the first day of the extraordinary congress the delegates proceeded to the election of the party chairman and the first secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee by secret ballot. Use was made of the principle of election from several candidates. Following a comprehensive debate, the following comrades were nominated for the post of party chairman on the final list of candidates—Ladislav Adamec, Vasil Mohorita, Evzen Prusa, and Karel Urbanek. The same comrades also figured on the list of candidates for the post of first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

At the end of the first day of the congress, the following outcome of the secret ballot was announced to the delegates:

By a majority of votes (868), Comrade Ladislav Adamec was elected party chairman. A total of 228 delegates voted for E. Prusa, 201 for V. Mohorita, and 159 for K. Urbanek. Some delegates abstained.

Comrade Vasil Mohorita was elected first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee by a majority of votes (819). A total of 301 delegates voted for E. Prusa, 187 for K. Urbanek, and 55 for L. Adamec. During this ballot, too, some delegates abstained.

The newly elected CPCZ Chairman Ladislav Adamec expressed thanks for the trust shown in him and assured the delegates that he sincerely wants to help the party deal with its serious problems, while relying on all honest Communists.

Further Reportage, Reaction to Romanian Events

Romanian Embassy Thanks CSSR

AU2912114189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Dec 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Romanian Embassy Conveys Thanks"]

[Text] On Christmas Eve, Nicolae Vulpasin, first secretary of the Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the CSSR, asked CTK to convey thanks to Czechoslovakia for its assistance to the Romanian people.

The message of thanks states:

All staff of the Romanian Embassy in Prague, who, at the side of the people, condemn in the sharpest terms Ceausescu's bloody antipeople's dictatorship, express the warmest thanks and recognition to all Czechoslovak bodies, institutions, political parties, initiatives, and citizens for their sincere human solidarity and the assistance, which they are granting to the Romanian people in their struggle for national renewal.

We convey sincere thanks to all students for their demonstrations before our embassy and for their slogans directed against the dictator. We assure them that after the bloody massacre at Timisoara, we never asked the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs to take steps against the demonstrators, despite the fact that we had received strict instructions from Bucharest to this effect.

Our particular thanks go to the Czechoslovak media, which have continuously informed the Czechoslovak public about the struggle of the Romanian people for freedom and democracy.

Special Session on Romania

AU2912124789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Dec 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The CSSR Government Session"]

[Text] Prague—The CSSR Government held an extraordinary meeting late at night on 23 December 1989 to assess the current developments in Romania. It expressed resolute support for the Romanian people and their struggle for freedom and democracy.

It welcomes the fact that the Romanian Army stands on the side of the people, that the country's new democratic administration, headed by the National Salvation Front, is being created. The government resolutely condemns the repressive actions by a part of the security forces, which are massacring defenseless people. These actions must be condemned as crime against humanity.

The CSSR Government stresses and is fully aware that the Romanian people want the same as our people want, that the effort for a new, free Europe culminates with the noble struggle of the Romanian people. The Czech and Slovak nations are responding with warm feelings of sincere humameness and genuine friendship to the great humanitarian message of the Romanian people.

Therefore, the CSSR Government is developing an exceptional diplomatic activity aimed at resolving the situation. It joined the request to immediately convene the UN Security Council, and it is prepared to take part in all international deliberations dealing with this problem. The government heard a report by the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the completed and planned steps, and charged him with the task of expediently coordinating them with the course of action of the world community aimed at immediately halting the bloodshed in Romania. It instructed the Minister of Foreign Affairs to begin talks with representatives of the National Salvation Front, clarify their demands on the Czechoslovak side to deal with the current critical situation. The government is prepared to accommodate those demands.

Also, the government acquainted itself with a detailed report of the Minister of National Defense and agreed to preparations for sending military field hospitals, a hospital train, medicines, and medical supplies and personnel to Romania. At the same time, it agreed that the Czechoslovak People's Army is to be at the ready to transport wounded Romanian citizens with military aircraft to Czechoslovak hospitals.

Further, it heard a report of the Minister of Foreign Trade on organizing and concentrating foodstuffs and material of all kinds for the Romanian citizens who are experiencing privation. It also took note of a report of the Czech Minister of Health and Social Affairs on providing medical assistance to Romania.

The federal government appreciated the immense initiative of the Czechoslovak people, who have begun spontaneously collecting foodstuffs, medicines, and other material assistance for the Romanian people to relieve their extraordinarilyy difficult situation. It charged Petr Miller, CSSR minister of labor and social affairs, with the task of coordinating the work of all Czechoslovak institutions and citizens in that area.

The Czechoslovak Government expects that in cooperation with the appropriate Romanian bodies it will be possible to fully realize this assistance of ours in the immediate future.

The CSSR Government will also adopt new measures as warranted.

CPCZ Condemns 'Defilement'

AU2912122589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Dec 89 p 1

[Text] Prague (CTK)—Ladislav Adamec, chairman of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party], and Vasil Mohorita and first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, issued the following statement on the night of 23 December:

"With profound indignation and just anger over the sullying of the humane ideals of socialism we have been receiving reports about the terror unleashed by the Ceausescu regime in Romania against the people of that country. From a steadfast position of solidarity we express full support for the just struggle of the Romanian working people and youth against the ruthless dictatorship of personal power, which did not hesitate to commit mass murders to prolong its historically condemned existence.

"The violence committed by the ruling Ceausescu clique and the forces in league with it are the tragic affirmation of murderous criminality, at which point a Stalinist, deformed totalitarian policy—which has nothing in common with socialism—can emerge. This is a policy which is not only the deformation but a downright liquidation of the ideals of the communist movement.

"In the spirit of the conclusions of the extraordinary CPCZ Congress, and in harmony with the resolutions which are arriving from the CPCZ's primary organizations, we pay tribute to the sacrifices of the Romanian people to renew their society, to renew the socialist feelings in their own country and in the world.

"We appeal to all district and borough CPCZ committees, to all Communists, to materially support the just struggle of the Romanian people in all possible ways and as much as they can, and in the specific conditions of all locations of our republic to collaborate with the other political forces of our society with the objective of making the difficult days and hours of the Romanian women, men, and children easier.

"The CPCZ—being precisely aware of the responsibility for the past deformation also in Czechoslovak society, with which it parted ways once and for all at its extraordinary congress— calls on all its members to respond to the defilement of the idea of socialism by the Ceausescu regime in Romania by honest work for the further development of democracy, humaneness, and national understanding in Czechoslovakia."

Comments on Regime's Demise

AU2912151489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Dec 89 p 1

[Vaclav Bervida article from the "A Word on the Day" column: "End of an Anachronism"]

[Text] Ceausescu's regime in Romania has fallen. The fall was accompanied by the thunder of cannons and

claimed thousands of human lives, which the dictatorship—in its last convulsions—had on its conscience.

The question naturally crops up how all that could happen, how it is possible that in Europe at the end of the 1980's, of the 20th century—in the general atmosphere of new thinking in international relations—a strictly closed regime of hard totalitarianism and personal power could survive, which tied up more than 20 million people by means of fear, censorship, and quiet everyday terror, which subordinated the economy and actually all life in the country to the ideas of an individual beyond any public control? Ceausescu—under the shield of socialism—patiently built up his empire for years, and Europe, in essence as one, stuck to the principle of noninterference. At certain stages, Ceausescu even received applause from both the West and the East. One suspected quite a few things, and after a time one began to realize things—when the dictator decided to level whole villages to the ground in the name of creating some sort of new urban units, and when his policy of oppressing the ethnic minorites became obvious. But, somehow, in some way, this was still an internal affair...

In every regime, certain reactionary elements exist in the ideology. In the West they are called rightist, extremely rightist, and, possibly, they acquire the form of neo-Nazism. In the East we can call them orthodox currents, conservative directions, neo-Stalinism, Brezhnevism... Regardless of what they are called, these currents have one thing in common—a tendency toward totalitarianism, gradual suppression and silencing of opposing views and differing views and, logically, toward violence... Both reactionary tendencies, in West and East, have been provoking confrontation in international relations, a feverish arms buildup, and tension.

Now, on the whole, they are on the retreat in Europe and in the world, and openness, democracy, the building of bridges instead of burning them are entering political life, and public control over power is being strengthened. Romania was one of the last power-political anachronisms on our continent. The more tenaciously and systematically it clung to life, the faster and more bloodily the anachronsim collapsed.

In any case, now a realistic prospect begins to exist that Romania will again join the ranks of nations in which the ideals of democracy and social justice will live, and without doubt it will support the hopeful new trend in international relations. And, as we did not interfere formerly for whatever reasons, now it is time for expedient assistance and solidarity. That Balkan country that is waking up to a better future will need it.

Plaques to U.S. Army Unveiled in Susice, Klatovy

AU2912122189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Dec 89 p 2

[CTK report from the "Per Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] Memorial plaques in honor of the liberation of Susice and Klatovy by the U.S. Third Army in May 1945 were unveiled in those two towns on Friday [22 December].

Western Allies Role in Liberation Commemorated

AU2912124589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Dec 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Anniversary of Anglo-American Mission"]

[Text] Polomka, 26 December—On Tuesday [26 December], it was 45 years since the Edelweiss antipartisan unit took prisoner in Velky Bok in Low Tatras a part of the Anglo-U.S. mission that arrived to assist the Slovak national uprising. On that occasion a memorial ceremony was held on the Homolka Mountain above Polomka. Its participants paid tribute to the memory of the Western allies in our national liberation struggle by laying wreaths. The mission, which was active on the rebel territory in the vicinity of Polomka, also thanks its member, Jozef Horvath, then sergeant of the U.S. Army, who was born there. The villagers supplied the entire group with food and clothing. The members of the groups were taken prisoner by the fascists on 26 December 1944, and a month later they were executed in the Mauthausen concentration camp in Austria. Among them also was the sole U.S. war correspondent on the New York AP news agency, Joseph Morton.

The participants in the solemn ceremony also paid tribute to the memory of the heroes of the Slovak National Uprising in the village of Polomka.

Dienstbier Receives U.S. Ambassadors

AU2912145389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Dec 89 p 2

[CTK report from the "International Relations" column]

[Text] Jiri Dienstbier, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, received U.S. Ambassador Shirley Temple Black in Prague on Friday [22 December]. They exchanged views on the current state of and prospects for Czechoslovak-U.S. relations. J. Dienstbier received Ambassador James Woolsey, head of the U.S. delegation to the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe, on the same day.

Protocol on Goods Exchange With Bulgaria Signed

AU1912135289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Dec 89 p 8

[Text] Prague (CTK)—A protocol on the exchange of goods for 1990 between the CSSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria was signed in Prague on Wednesday [6 December]. The document envisages the value of the mutual goods' exchange to amount to R800 million next year. Next year, Czechoslovakia will deliver

to the People's Republic of Bulgaria machinery and equipment, especially power engineering equipment, high- and low-voltage electrical engineering products, metallurgical equipment, textile and chemical machinery and equipment, and means of transportation. Deliveries of metallurgical and heat-resistant materials and chemical products will continue.

From Bulgaria we will import, in particular, axles for trucks, computers, transportation and lifting equipment, colling equipment, and products of the electrical engineering sector. The Bulgarian partner will continue delivering non-ferrous metals, some chemical products, and agricultural products. The exchange of consumer goods between organizations of the cooperative and state domestic trade will continue.

Demonstration Against Gabcikovo Dam 18 Dec

AU2112102389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Dec 89 p 2

[Text] Gabcikovo (CTK)—On Saturday [16 December] several hundred citizens from the Dunajska Streda District took part in a protest demonstration in Gabcikovo aimed at interrupting all work on the Gabcikovo hydroproject. The rally organized by the district civic initiatives—the Public Against Violence and the Independent Hungarian Initiative—took place despite the decision of Ivan Vesely, minister of forestry, water economy, and the wood- processing industry of the Slovak SR, as of 15 December to halt the work on the alternative solution of the Hrusov-Dunakliti reservoir. The rally was attended by Slovak Deputy Premiers Vladmir Ondrus and Alexander Varga. The participants in the demonstration demanded of the CSSR Government to immediately interrupt all work on the hydroproject, as well as set up an independent commission of international experts who would objectively assess the project in respect to existing ecological risks. At the same time, they demanded that the public be objectively informed about both the positive and the negative aspects of the project. The demonstrators supported the proposal of the Bratislava environmentalists to establish a Danubian National Park on the territory between the dams of the Danube and its tributaries from Vienna to Budapest.

FRG's Genscher Interviewed on CSSR Issues

AU2812104789 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 24 Dec 89 p 1

[Report on interview with FRG Foreign Affairs Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher by Karel Bocek in Weidhaus, FRG, on 23 December: "Europe's Historic Day"]

[Text] Yesterday [23 December], shortly after noon, in the presence of dozens, nay, hundreds of Czechoslovak and West German journalists, FRG and CSSR Ministers of Foreign Affairs Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Jiri Dienstbier met in the border zone near the village of Nove Domky in the vicinity of Rozvadov. This place was not chosen randomly. After a short while they together cut through the barbed wire protecting our border. This symbolic act has ushered in a new chapter in the history of cooperation and relations between the two countries.

[Bocek] What does this moment mean to you?

[Genscher] In a few days the year 1989 will end, and as Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, said at its beginning during the final talks of the Vienna follow-up meeting, the "iron curtain is becoming rusty," we saw the first concrete steps aimed at completely doing away with it. The barbed wire on the Hungarian-Austrian border was cut through last summer, the Berlin Wall was opened last November, and the Brandenburg gate was opened yesterday, and yesterday the tyrannizing of the Romanian people by Nicolae Ceausescu also ended. Two hundred years after the French Revolution, precisely this year will go down in history as the year in which many nations succeeded on their own in gaining their freedom, equality, and brotherhood. They have gained their freedom, and freedom means open borders. Thus, the present day is not important for the nations of our countries alone, but it also is a historic day for the whole of Europe.

[Bocek] How do you, in the FRG, view what is happening in our country?

[Genscher] We are following these exciting days with profound sympathy and we admire your people's peaceful revolution. Together with you we rejoice over your success. With your reforms, Czechoslovakia has joined the ranks of the states which are taking an active part in the process of the unification of Europe. The issues which we are now facing are a matter of European dimension.

[Bocek] Can you tell us what you discussed with your Czechoslovak counterpart?

[Genscher] I invited Minister Jiri Dienstbier to pay an official visit to Bonn in January next year. The range of issues that will have to be discussed is very wide. For example, we will contemplate establishing additional consular departments and the opening of additional border crossings; we will assess the possibility of investments and the intensification of the CSSR's relations with the European Community, and exchanging and getting-to-know-one-another among young people; we want to set up a commission of historians and other scientists to study the history of our nations and, of course, the involvement and the significance of the role of our countries in the heart of Europe regarding the process of disarmament and the results of the Vienna meeting.

[Bocek] This was your first meeting... .

[Genscher] This was not the first time we have met. We know one another from the period 21 years ago, when I visited Prague with W. Scheel and our other political

representatives. In Jiri Dienstbier I admire, above all, the spirit in which he approached the talks as well as the openness of our dialogue.

[Bocek] How do you view the possibility of eliminating mandatory visas?

[Genscher] On the Czechoslovak side one can see the political will to open up to the world, but—unfortunatrely—the issue of visas is much more complex and it has a complex backgroud concerning, above all, economic obstacles. X X X

This is what we were told by H.-D. Genscher at the news conference that took place after a joint dinner of the two politicians in the first small town on FRG territory, in Weidhaus.

Civic Forum Invites Portugal's Soares To Visit

LD2812173489 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] The Civil Forum has invited Mario Soares, president of Portugal, to visit the CSSR as someone who has supported the struggle and the aims of the democratic movement in our country from the beginning. His visit is not official and therefore he is not expected to take part in the festive elections for a new president. Mr Soares will meet Vaclav Havel for lunch in the Portuguese Embassy. However, it will be a private meeting.

Calfa Receives UK, Cuban Ambassadors 27 Dec

LD2812084389 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1900 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Marian Calfa, premier of the federal government, received today in Prague Laurence O'Keeffe, British ambassador to Czechoslovakia. They discussed the possibilities of deepening cooperation between the two countries in the coming period.

Marian Calfa also received today Mario Rodriquez Martinez, ambassador of the Cuban Republic. Their talks also concerned the development of mutual cooperation, in particular in the economic sphere.

Calfa Letter to Delors Urges More Contacts

LD1812213889 Prague CTK in English 2105 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 18 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa stressed in a letter sent to president of the Commission of the European Communities Jacques Delors that Czechoslovakia wants in the future to intensify and raise to a higher level the political dialogue and relations with the European Parliament.

Czechoslovakia wants to develop a system of working contacts between members of the Czechoslovak Government and representatives of the commission of the European Communities, especially in the present conditions of the pluralistic system which is coming into existence and the radical economic reform in Czechoslovakia. New horizons for all-round development of the country's relations with the European Communities are opening.

As regards the economic sphere, Marian Calfa stressed in the letter that Czechoslovakia is interested mainly in the extension of the contractural basis for the intensification of cooperation with the European Communities.

"We are ready to start talks on a skeleton agreement on trade and economic cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the European Economic Community in the nearest future. We would welcome the speeding up of the process of removing trade political obstacles impeding the transfer of technologies into Czechoslovakia and other limitations for Czechoslovak exports to markets of the countries of the economic communities".

In a relatively short time, Czechoslovakia is ready to sign bilateral agreements on mutual protection of investments with all member states of the European Communities.

Cardinal Tomasek: Pope Will Visit 'Soon'

AU2812191989 Vienna Television Service in German 1830 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Interview with Prague's Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek by ORF journalist Otto Hoermann in Prague; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Tomasek] I talked with the Holy Father this year and he told me frankly: I am convinced that I will soon visit the CSSR.

[Hoermann] When you say soon, could this mean in 1990, that is, next year?

[Tomasek] Well, one cannot say this precisely, but we hope that now there is greater hope for his visit than in the past.

[Hoermann] Next year free elections are to be held here in the CSSR. Is it possible that, because of the fact that there are very few political parties or groups, the Catholic Church will get more involved in politics?

[Tomasek] This involvement will not take place in the form of the Catholic Church but in the form of citizens, most of whom are Catholics. In this respect, we are always ready to make our contribution to solving the problems that still exist.

Interview Reported

AU2812134689

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 23 December on page 2, under the headline "On Church-State Relations," carries a 600-word undated CTK interview with Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, archbishop of Prague. In the interview, Tomasek first comments on the new CSSR Government's "radical solution to the

problem of church-state relations" as reflected in Deputy Premier Hromadka's recent talks in the Vatican about the appointment of new bishops. Tomasek voices the conviction that "the long-restricted freedom of the churches will be really guaranteed and fully respected, which, as I believe, will also enhance people's trust in our new Government." Asked what he expects of the new government, Tomasek says that there is now a possibility of opening new seminaries, one in Olomouc and one in Slovakia, and of restoring monastic life, not only for nuns but also for monks. "I assume that this will be made possible in the near future," Tomasek says. He also mentions that a visit from the Vatican is expected in mid-January to deal with the filling of the five bishoprics that are still vacant and expresses the belief that "if all partners approach the talks with genuine effort, we could have all residing bishops by Easter." Asked whether the church demands the return of former church property, Tomasek says that "no negotiations on this issue are yet underway, nor are such negotiations planned." In his remaining replies, Tomasek endorses an "early visit" by the Pope to Czechoslovakia and appreciates the scope provided by Czechoslovak media recently for the opinions of the church.

Prison Staff Warn of 'Massacre' During Unrest

LD2812121189 Prague CTK in English
1138 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 28 (CTK)—Unrest, the intensity of which varies according to the gravity of offences committed by convicts, has been persisting in the majority of Czechoslovak correctional institutions.

In prisons with first category convicts (minor crimes), inmates call for better working conditions and medical care, for more frequent visits by relatives, for abolishing disciplinary punishment etc. They are relatively calm as they expect an amnesty following the election of a new Czechoslovak president due on Friday.

On the other hand in third category prisons (for heavy crimes e.g. murders, sexual abuse and robberies) the situation is very complicated as seen from a statement of prison guards at Valdice, East Bohemia. The statement said inter alia that "according to the demands raised by the convicts we have the impression that their aim is to eliminate prison guards and staff as a whole and create conditions for serving sentences in line with their own ideas. We draw attention to the fact that convicts are prepared, and do not hide it, to enforce the meeting of their demands by a mass escape if these are not met. They will choose this solution also if a general amnesty, which they see as the release of all, is not declared. As members of the prison staff we shall have to take action against the convicts according to regulations. We warn against a possible massacre," the statement said.

Pavel Rotyka, the head of the Czech Justice Ministry's department for Legal Assistance, told CTK a special commission of the Czech National Council for inquiring into conditions of the prison system had set up working groups which are currently learning about the demands of convicts in the individual prisons. In cases of objection to meals, hygiene, working conditions etc, these three- member groups composed of experts and deputies seek immediate solutions. On January 2 the commission will be informed of the overall situation and the necessary measures will be taken. In cases requiring a change in legal norms, the Czech National Council can authorize the Czech Government and the Justice Ministry to make amendments to some regulations.

The situation in Slovak prisons is being settled in a similar way.

Leadership Issues Message for New Year

LD2912140789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1232 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Address by Professor Manfred Gerlach, acting chairman of the GDR Council of State; Prime Minister Hans Modrow; and Guenther Maleuda, president of the People's Chamber; to the country's citizens on the occasion of New Year]

[Text] The year 1989, which is coming in an end, will go down in our country's history as the year of the peaceful revolution. The citizens of the GDR are fulfilling their dream of freedom, democracy, and justice. The People's Chamber, the government, and the Council of State are obligated to their will. The people do not need any instructed political missionaries, or self-righteous moral apostles. The people are acting in a sovereign manner.

We think we are in tune with the majority of citizens when we say, on the threshold of 1990's, that the GDR needs revolutionary changes. It needs a state based on the rule of law. It needs reason and a sense of perspective. The liberties that have been won should be consolidated. Civic rights must be granted to all citizens.

The GDR needs good work from all citizens. Everyone here depends on everyone else. Everyone has his share of responsibility for the whole. We need a functioning economy because our people need it. There cannot be a functioning democracy without a functioning economy.

For this reason, we thank the citizens in town and country who have guaranteed production and the supply and protection of the population through self-sacrifice over the past few weeks. All forces must be mobilized in order to beat the crisis. Support for this—particularly on the part of the FRG—is necessary, urgent, and welcome. The first measures on the part of the GDR Government are beginning to have an effect. Their effectiveness will prove itself further over the next few weeks. Even with the full opening of the borders with the FRG and West Berlin, a sellout of the GDR will not be permitted. There will be no sellout of our country's enterprises in the future. Every citizen should know that his savings are safe. A currency reform is not planned.

The GDR is in transition toward the new. Much seems unusual, much threatening. Old structures are crumbling and being called into question. New political forces are forming. Firm ground has to be found. We have to create it together, in a democratic manner. Confidence in the future should grow in the New Year. No one should feel anxiety; everyone should help to secure order and an orderly life in town and countryside. In this, let us not forget the old and the sick; let us also care for the children.

Nineteen-ninety will be characterized by the elections, which will produce a new political landscape. Until then, the People's Chamber, the coalition government, the Council of State and, not the least, the roundtable have an obligation toward citizens' well-being. That is their highest political task.

In recent weeks, millions of citizens have demonstrated and announced their will at meetings. The quiet people in our country also should raise their voices in the New Year and join those citizens who shout: No violence! No outbursts of hatred! No xenophobia! Not a ghost of a chance for extreme right-wing loudmouths and neo-fascists!

Courage for responsible actions is the first civic duty. We have confidence in the ability and performance of the workers, the cooperative farmers, the members of the intelligentsia, and all working people, women and men, and young people to fashion a better future for our country by peaceful work.

The renewal of the German Democratic Republic is inseparably linked to the democratic radical changes in other socialist countries, in particular to perestroyka and glasnost in the Soviet Union.

Our endeavors and results, but also our shortcomings and mistakes, have repercussions on developments in Europe. Let us therefore do justice to the expectations placed on us.

And it remains the case: Both German states have particular joint responsibility for peace and security, for disarmament and detente.

The GDR will always meet this responsibility, and all political focres should help in this.

Europe is looking to us because the development of the GDR and its relations with the FRG affect the whole of Europe, particularly the neighbors and partners of the two German states. The treaty-based community with the Federal Republic of Germany, which is to be outlined in 1990, can be useful to Europe and to ourselves only if the GDR Government is able to act as a reliable partner. The stability and governability of the GDR are a German necessity and a European concern.

When there is talk of the future, in these eventful days, mention is also often made of the German past. Let us, citizens, here write together a new chapter in German history, a chapter without blood and steel, a chapter of the people, for the people.

We wish you all a peaceful New Year, health, prosperity, and creativity!

[Signed:]

Manfred Gerlach,

acting chairman of the State Council;

Hans Modrow,

prime minister;

Guenther Maleuda,

president of the People's Chamber.

Personnel Changes Made at Defense Ministry

LD2912111289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0921 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin ADN—New people will be given leading functions at the GDR Ministry for National Defense and in the National People's Army [NVA] effective 1 January 1990, Ministry Spokesman Lieutenant Colonel Uwe Hempel announced today.

Lieutenant General Manfred Graetz, current head of rear services, will become deputy minister and head of the NVA Main Staff. He will replace Colonel General Fritz Streletz. Vice Admiral Hans Hofmann will become the new head of rear services.

Colonel General Horst Bruenner also will leave active service because the NVA Political Main Administration, of which he was head, will cease its work.

Lieutenant General Horst Skerra will become head of the Ground Forces Command from the beginning of the year. He will succeed Colonel General Horst Stachbarth in this function.

On 1 December, Lieutenant General Rolf Berger became head of the Air Force and Air Defense Command. In connection with the appointment of Admiral Theodor Hoffmann as minister for national defense, Vice Admiral Hendrik Born has begun work as head of the People's Navy.

Defense Minister Admiral Hoffmann thanked the departing servicemen for their long years fulfilling their duties and wished their successors much sucess in their work, in fulfilling the NVA's constitutional task, and in the renewal of the GDR's forces.

Changes Made in Internal Affairs Ministry

LD2912140589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1316 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Internal Affairs Minister Lothar Ahrendt today discharged seven leading cadres from active service, including General Karl-Heinz Wagner, deputy minister and head of staff. Lieutenant General Egon Gruening was appointed as his successor.

The Interior Ministry Press Department added that Deputy Minister Lieutenant General Werner Reuter and Helmut Reinecke, director of the Ministry Cadre Department, were also discharged. Major General Klaus Zimmermann became the new Cadre Department director.

The present heads of the area (bezirk) authorities of the German People's Police (BDVP) of Potsdam, Magdenburg, and Dresden, are also leaving office.

Neo-Nazis Threaten Rostock Prosecutor's Office

LD2812163989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1547 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—In the vilest fascist terms, right-wing extremist forces have written to the Rostock Bezirk [area] State Prosecutor's Office to protest the trial last September of the former member of the fascist factory-protection force, Jakob Holz.

The writers of the letter, which also enclosed ADN reports which had been reprinted in the Erfurt daily DAS VOLK about the horrific acts of the multiple murderer of Polish citizens of Jewish descent, demand the immediate release of the, as the letter says, innocent factory-protection force member Holz.

On a map with the outlines of the former German empire within the frontiers of 1937, the typed letter says: "For this former German reich, from the Maas to the Memel, from the Etsch to the Belt we fight, and not just for the defeated GDR or the truncated FRG. We want everything the way Hitler commanded us." The neofascists threaten Harri Mueller, the bezirk state prosecutor, that they will "hack to pieces" members of the Rostock Bezirk prosecutor's office.

Under the motto "Greater Germany, awaken", the writers of the letter, which is signed with "Heil Hitler," promise "to act more radically than the Nazis did. We will destroy not only the Jews that are left, but all the traitors of World War II, for example the members of the national committee 'New Germany.' These traitors, who have found their home especially in the National Democratic Party of Germany, intend to establish again the prisoner of war camps in Siberia."

The Rostock Bezirk State Prosecutor's Office has told ADN that the letter, which was apparently posted in Nordhausen, has now been passed on to the criminal investigation department.

Prosecutor's Spokesman on Neo-Nazi Activities

LD2812171589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1455 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Although there are no provable neo-Nazi structures in the GDR, latent Nazi thought and xenophobia cannot be overlooked, the press spokesman for the GDR state prosecutor, Dr Peter Przybylski, stated in Berlin today. Greater vigilance is required in view of the open borders with the FRG and West Berlin.

The State Prosecutor's Office shares the concern of the roundtable, the spokesman said, pointing to the statement by this body on neo-fascist tendencies in the GDR. The number of people against whom enquiries had to be started for neo-Nazi activities is higher than assumed. In 1988 there were enquiries against a total of 185 people, and up to December 1989, against 296.

However, the problem can not be mastered by legal measures alone, Przybylski stressed. In order to nip thing sin the bud, antifascist education and public debate with neo-Nazi thought has to be promoted throughout society. This is all the more urgent as many people participating in neo-Nazism are young people.

The CID [Criminal Investigation Department] noted for the press today an increase in "bomb threats, telephone calls to antifascists, and graffiti" by neo-Nazis. This requires a swift reaction by employees of a special working group of the CID Main Department of the Interior Ministry, created in 1987. The police want to contact immediately the newly formed security working group of the roundtable. The current situation does not allow them to wait until the formation of an Office for the Protection of the Constitution.

The 481 enquiries in 1988 and 1989, as noted by Przybylski, were based only on information from the former Office for National Security. Around 1,100 people linked with extreme right-wing-motivated criminal acts are known to the CID. There is a great unknown area, and signs that more such groups are being formed, or working in a conspirative manner, the CID stated. In order to gain further information on this "scene," it is absolutely necessary to gain access to the relevant files in the currently sealed former Offices for National Security and the offices of the former Ministry for State Security.

According to police information, there were activities by neo-Nazi-oriented people who had already formed groups before October 1989, spontaneous actions by nationalists who helped in the maelstrom of an atmosphere similar to a pogrom, and larger groups which had been stirred up without being aware of the neo-Nazi tendency, and actions by criminal cliques, who are swimming with the nationalist and neo-Nazi tide in order to carry out acts of violence and threats against citizens.

Worries are created by such manifestations among the populace, confidence in the capability of state bodies to guarantee law and order—as well as the rule of law—is continually reduced, and insecurity is spread. Up until September 1989, punks, because of their "un-German lifestyle," gruftis [young people who gather together in crypts and graveyards], homosexuals, dark- skinned foreigners, Vietnamese, as well as members of the Armed Forces, and citizens with SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] badges had been preferred targets for attack. Their motivation was expressed in the slogan: "Foreigners out and Communists up against the wall." Declarations of sympathy with the "republicans" in the FRG and West Berlin had openly been propagated since 1988. The current situation in the GDR offers favorable conditions for the efforts of neo-Nazi groups to increase their numbers.

New Forum Publishes Draft Program, Statute

LD2812181189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1715 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—New Forum sees itself as "a political platform for citizens who do not have confidence in the existing parties to put a committed and grass roots-oriented democratization into practice." This emerges from the movement's draft program statement conveyed to ADN today. New Forum is working as a national citizens' initiative organized into locally and factory-based grass-roots and subject working groups. It is open to citizens "of various ideological and party orientation but excludes all forms of misanthropic and neofacist tendencies, as well as those who glorify violence."

In the draft, New Forum underlines its intention to put up its own candidates at the local and People's Chamber elections. "We are prepared to take on political responsibility because the comprehensive crisis in the GDR also requires our comprehensively having an influence at all levels of the state." It is now a matter of the country's future "which we want to hand over to our children in a habitable state."

Basic civic rights and the protection of citizens from the state's superior strength are stressed. They call for a new Constitution. The state should be organized on the principle of the division of power.

Regarding the economy, the movement comes out in favor of an uncoupling of the economic system from the state apparatus. State property must be converted into autonomous and economically independent social ownership of factories. They are in favor of a "mixed economy." State subsidies should be checked "very strictly for necessity and efficiency." The market must be restricted "where it tries to trespass upon industrial or social democracy or where it undermines the basis of society's ecology or solidarity." New Forum supports the right to work. Economic rationality must not be obtained through unemployment.

In its draft program, New Forum expresses support for "special relations between the two German states." They are based on the historic unity of the German nation and could range from a treaty- based community to a confederation. "The rapprochement between the two German states is taking place solely within the postwar borders and does not encroach upon the interests of third states."

The movement puts forward and 18-point immediate program for the next stage in the restructuring of the GDR.

Anyone who is 16 years old and recognizes the program and statue can become a member of New Forum, says the draft statute, which was also communicated to ADN. This also applies to foreign citizens who have permanent residence in the GDR. New Forum will finance its work through membership subscriptions and donations.

German Forum Party Founding Committee Formed

LD2912132489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1237 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—Representatives of grass-root groups of the New Forum met in Karl-Marx-Stadt today to form a founding committee of a German Forum Party (DFP). The DFP intends to unite the initiatives to date for the founding of the New Forum party in the areas (bezirks) of Karl-Marx-Stadt, Berlin, Suhl, Neubrandenburg, and Frankfrut (Oder).

According to a communication to ADN, an appeal is made to all GDR citizens to constitute in all areas in accordance with the founding idea.

The founding party congress is convened for 27 January in Karl-Marx-Stadt.

New Forum Spokesman on Political Parties

LD2712225189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1916 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In a report handed to ADN today, New Forum stresses the need for a political citizens' movement with working, small grass-roots groups on the scene. In day-to-day political matters it is the citizens' expertise that is required, not whether they are members of a party or not, a paper signed by Professor Dr Jens Reich, member of the National Council of Spokespersons of New Forum, says, among other things. A decentralized state and administrative structure and the re-establishment of the Laender as they developed [before the administrative reform in the GDR] are therefore emphasized.

New Forum wants to see independent parties with their own profile in the People's Chamber. Parties have an important function in the life of a state, and it does not want to abolish them. However, a system consisting purely of parties tends to become calcified, and this is shown by the well-known "weariness with parties" which the Federal Republic, for example, has to contend with.

Free associations of voters and independent deputies are also necessary. Political movements which are not actually parties should also be allowed to stand for election, such as the women's movement. New Forum wants to take on political responsibility, but not to become a party. However, an electoral law must prevent a part, such as the Socialist United Party of Germany currently having a parliamentary group with only 25 percent of all seats but then acquiring a majority through deputies allied with it in other partliamentary groups (such as the Free German Youth or the Free German Trade Union Federation). A demand is made for an end to "backdoor seats."

In the elections to the People's Chamber, a good mixture of the election of individual persons and election from a [party] list is required. It would probably be senible to work against a fragmentation of forces. In the FRG a 5-percent clause exists for this purpose. According to Professor Reich, "at least for our first election, a lower threshold should be set so that political forces who have earned a chance in the awakening but have still not been able to organize themselves are not thrown back into the basement."

A meaningful state financing of parties, voters' associations and political organizations is also suggested.

Roundtable Delegates Invited to Chamber Meeting

LD2812142689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1003 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Guenther Malevda, president of the People's Chamber of the GDR, has invited representatives of those roundtable participants not represented with a parliamentary group in the People's Chamber to take part in the 14th session of the people's supreme representative body on 11 and 12 of January as guests. In a letter, Maleuda further says that the Presidium of the People's Chamber also dealt with the cooperation of representatives of social groups that are taking part in the roundtable and who are not represented in People's Chamber committees. In the future, the roundtable will be informed by the Council of Ministers about legislative initiatives and plans. One representative of each of the social groups not represented in the People's Chamber can be sent to the relevant committee sessions.

Union Protests FDGB Exclusion From Roundtable

LD2812222289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1852 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The Secretariat of the National Executive of the industrial trade union for textile, clothing, and leather workers has protested against the exclusion of the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB] representative Rainer Schramm from the roundtable.

"We raise the strongest possible protest against this antidemocratic act and demand the immediate admission of a representative who represents the interests of the members of the largest mass organization in our country," says the letter, which was passed to ADN on Thursday. [passage omitted]

Democratic Awakening Confident in Chairman Schnur

LD2812171989 Hamburg DPA in German 1612 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—The executive of the new GDR party Democratic Awakening (DA) today expressed its confidence in its chairman, Wolfgang Schnur, by a clear majority. [passage omitted]

The DA executive rejected all accusations against Schnur as "unfounded." It announced in a press release that it was a matter of a "clear attempt to discredit the party through attacks on Schnur and therefore to open the election campaign in a dirty way." [passage omitted]

Helsinki Group To Monitor Rights Planned

LD2812144689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1302 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Following talks, various initiative groups for the formation of an association to promote and monitor the Helsinki process have agreed to combine their activities and to form a joint Helsinki group in the GDR.

A press release says that it will work for extensive propagation of the CSCE and UN documents on questions of human rights and civil liberties, to which the GDR is a joint signatory, and to create awareness that human rights and civil liberties are not a gift and an act of mercy by the state, but are given to every human being at birth and are inalienable. It is intended to give legal advice to citizens who feel that their rights are being restricted.

After a preparatory talk on the goals, modus operandi, and draft statute early next year, the Helsinki group will constitute itself on 17 February in Berlin.

Environmental Protection Ministry Renamed

AU2912115389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Environmental Protection Ministry Receives New Profile"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Thursday [21 December], the GDR Council of Ministers decided to rename the Ministry of Environmental Protection and Water Conservancy the Ministry of Nature Conservation, Environmental Protection, and Water Conservancy. According to the Press and Information Department of this state organ, in letters, statements, and critical remarks, citizens have presented numerous proposals to change the tasks and profile of nature conservation and environmental protection.

In order to implement the long-term environmental policy, which was outlined in the government statement of 17 November 1989, on the same day the Council of Ministers—proceeding from the numerous proposals—decided on a number of far-reaching measures for a new orientation and profile of the ministry.

Interim Report of Investigation Committee

AU2812181389

[Editorial Report] East Berlin Neues Deutschland in German on 21 December on page 5 carries the text of the 4,000-word interim report by the investigation committee, which investigates violations of the party statute and laws by party functionaries and their relatives, to the party congress.

The report notes that so far the committee has dealt with 1,232 reports that it has received, which refer to corruption and abuse of power by former Politburo members, former first secretaries of bezirk [area] leaderships, functionaries at the kreis [district] level, etc. It also notes that "many pieces of information have proved to be unfounded and that some people are trying to have us solve their private problems or to settle personal quarrels."

The report states that arrest warrants have been issued for Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Harry Tisch, Willi Stoph, Guenther Kleiber, Werner Krolikowski, Hans Albrecht, Gerhard Mueller, Dieter Mueller, Heinz Ziegner, and former department heads in the former SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee, Karl Seidel and Heinz Wildenhain. "They are accused of crimes in connection with the construction and maintenance of private houses and weekend houses for themselves or their children, according to Articles 161a and 165 of the GDR Penal Code. For the same reason, investigation procedures are being carried out against Hermann Axen, Erich Honecker, and Herbert Ziegenhahn."

The report goes on to describe the Wandlitz settlement, where the most prominent GDR functionaries lived, and it quotes an order by General Guenter Wolf, which details the tasks of all employees in Wandlitz and dates back to 19 December 1987. The report also describes the use of the official cars of the then-Council of Ministers and notes that the Politburo members and their families were able to get gasoline for free. It also describes the situation in the shop in Wandlitz, where luxury goods were available at low prices, but it stresses that the rumors "that the goods were available for free in this shop have proved wrong."

The report then deals with the so-called "leisure-time objects," which were designed and built in line with individual wishes.

In conclusion, the report summarizes the accusations against several functionaries and notes that the "overwhelming majority of all comrades of the technical areas, of the political staff workers, and also of the leading cadres in the Central Committee apparatus are working with great responsibility and fulfill their tasks in a politically and morally unobjectionable way in the interest of the party."

Krenz Helped Avoid 'Civil War-Like Conflict'

AU2812154989 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 23-26 Dec 89 p 13

[Interview with former state and party leader Egon Krenz by Olaf Ihlau in East Berlin; date not given: "I Saved the GDR From Civil War"]

[Excerpts] SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: You were able to follow the German-German summit meeting in Dresden only on the television. Yet a few weeks ago you would have been Kohl's host as state and party leader. Is this very painful for you?

Krenz: At least I am gratified that, through two telephone conversations with Chancellor Kohl, I helped to prepare this meeting. I admit that one would, of course, like to finish what one begins. However, things have turned out differently, and I can only hope that it will be possible to get close to the goals to which Hans Modrow is aspiring.

SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: It seems that you have doubts in this respect.

Krenz: It is specific interests that play the decisive role in politics, and it is certainly most difficult to conciliate the interests concerning such grave problems. However, the formula of a treaty-based community offers a lot of leeway for both sides. I think that one must not conduct negotiations under pressure, even though we do not have much time. Now we must certainly pay the price for having made declarations and having issued communiques instead of implementing real policy for many years. After all, quite a few things that now appear to be necessary and possible would certainly have been conceivable even at the conclusion of the 1972 Basic Treaty. We have already lost a lot of time. [passage omitted]

SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: How is Honecker today, and when did you last see him?

Krenz: The last time I saw him was when I told him that he was expelled from the party. Since then I have not had any contacts with him. Even then I had the impression that he was really not capable of standing trial, and that there were a few things that he failed to fully understand. I can imagine that if I were told now that I had been expelled from the party, I would also be deeply upset.

SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: Do you expect that now you will have to face this as well? After all, at the party congress you were sharply attacked by numerous delegates.

Krenz: Those who assume responsibility must expect that those who entrusted them with this responsibility will ask: How did you fulfill this responsibility? Subjectively, I do not have to reproach myself for anything. Nobody could have expected that in the few days that I had I would have been able to solve all of the pending problems. I was aware of the fact that assuming such a function at that time required a great sense of responsibility; after all, nobody would have done it thinking that he might build a career on it.

SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: Nevertheless, did you not just conceive of yourself as a man for the transitional period?

Krenz: I used to deny this to the outside. Nevertheless, because I was familiar with the economic situation of the GDR, I knew that any successor to Honecker would have only very little time. Of course, I expected to be granted more time than I ultimately was. At least I tried to use this period of time as well as possible.

SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: What achievement do you think will be to your lasting credit?

Krenz: The fact that I managed to avoid a civil war-like conflict. After all, there can be no doubt that without our radical changes such a conflict would have developed. Even if I had done nothing other than save the GDR from a civil war, it would be worth saying: Well, the days as general secretary were not completely wasted. Our media also became more open than ever before during this period of time, and we established the basic structures for the process of political reform. Moreover, among my achievements I also include the opening of the borders for travel on 9 November. Therefore, it would be unfair to say that it was a lost time. [passage omitted]

SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: Mr Krenz, how do you feel personally now? Will you remain in early retirement?

Krenz: There is no early retirement in the GDR. Nevertheless, at 52, I would not like to be condemned to doing nothing. I could not even afford it from an economic point of view. I own nothing, and therefore I must find some kind of work. I do not know whether my party is still prepared to entrust me with another function.

SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: You could write a book on the radical changes in the GDR.

Krenz: I will certainly get the opportunity to speak about the course of the changes and the personal drama I had to suffer. Yet this time has not yet come. My party must consolidate itself, and I will not stab it in the back.

Margot Honecker Answers Deputies' Questions

AU2912091489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Dec 89 p 2

[Eva Horlamus report: "Margot Honecker Answered Questions by Deputies"]

[Excerpt] Berlin—On Wednesday [20 December], the People's Chamber temporary investigation committee for the investigation of abuse of office and corruption discussed the education of young people, schools, and school policy. Proceeding from petitions on this topic,

the committee, chaired by Heinrich Toeplitz (Christian Democratic Union of Germany), had asked former Education Minister Margot Honecker to answer a number of basic questions.

Margot Honecker admitted her personal responsibility for mistakes, which were made in the education sector under her leadership. However, this must not be blamed on the hundreds of thousands of industrious teachers and employees, she said. The wave of emigration, in particular of young people, had shocked her. However, one cannot see the reasons for this exclusively in public eduction, but must look for them in all of society. [passage omitted]

Report to SED Congress on Reasons for Crisis

AU2912075989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Dec 89 pp 7, 8

[Report "on the crisis in society and the reasons for it, on the responsibility of the SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany)," worked out by a collective and given by Professor Michael Schumann at the extraordinary party congress in Berlin on 16 December: "We Are Irrevocably Breaking With Stalinism as a System!"]

[Text] At the current time, the standpoint of a working group of the working committee, which is available here, can be assessed only as a first and preliminary attempt at analysis. The theoretical-idological mastering of such a complicated and complex problem requires the use of the intellectual potential of the entire party and remains a task which we have to takle with all our strength in the future, too, in order to arrive at further conclusions for the radical renewal of the party.

Nevertheless, at this party congress it is necessary to adopt a position on the reasons for the crisis. The party grass roots expect this, and from there we have received very illuminating ideas that are worth considering on this topic; and the public, too, expects this with justification.

On its first day, our party congress emphatically stated: We are irrevocably breaking with Stalinism as a system.

All of us here in the hall—some earlier, others later—became conscious that the members of a leadership that has been swept away in the meantime personally bear responsibility for the crisis in our country and party.

Erich Honecker and his Politburo were able to cause such damage mainly because an interweaving of structures, ubiquitous apparatuses, and an ideology of justification gave a blessing to such abuses of power and made them possible.

Many Symptoms of Abuse of Power

In the meantime, the symptoms of the abuse of power have been revealed:

—Concentration of power in the hands of an arrogant autocrat;

—Management of the economy by a central command that lacked any understanding for the elementary needs of the productive and social areas of society, and for the population's quality of life;

—The regimentation and bureaucratic centralization of culture, science, and education, which drove critical minds out of the country;

—The political tutelage of our republic's citizens and the branding of those who think differently as criminals;

—The transformation of the media landscape into a dreary information desert and a repulsive form of court reporting;

—The exclusion of the party grass roots from all the internal party processes of shaping the will and making decisions.

In the background of this abuse of power, the morass of corruption and personal enrichment spread. Insufferable aspirations to leadership by a leadership clique and its many emulators, even at lower levels, brought our party into disrepute. A deep chasm opened up between the leadership and the people, between the party leadership and the party grass roots. A comprehensive popular movement grew from individuals and groups pushing for change. They demanded their rights in the streets, when the country threatened to go under because of a mass exodus. The movement for the renewal of socialism has a revolutionary character. The politbureaucrats disparaged the people's new start as a counterrevolution and wanted to suppress it by force. In reality, they were the counterrevolutionaries in this situation. Many people—artists, workers, authors and academics, including members and functionaries of our party—raised their voices in warning.

Our party participated in the popular movement with many of its members, but was unable to initiate restructuring as an organization. Yes; in the beginning it did not understand the character of the process of renewal, either. For this reason, between those October days and our extraordinary party congress, the party got into a situation in which it has had to fight for its life.

Krenz Leadership Started Out With Lies

The party leadership following Erich Honecker's departure bears responsibility for this. We had to retreat further and further, because the leadership around Egon Krenz had no concept and was not prepared to make a radical break with the past. That could be expected, considering the people of which it was composed. Here I merely recall the following facts.

It started with the makeshift formula that Honecker had resigned for health reasons and with the sudden attack on the party by the ninth Central Committee session.

The party was forced to accept a slightly changed Politburo, which started out with the lie that the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] had introduced the change. The Stoph government and the People's Chamber president were permitted to muddle on. It was not understood that our country cannot be ruled with Article 1 of the Constitution. Dark areas in the elections and responsibility for violence against demonstrators remained unclarified. Instead of drying out the swamp of enrichment and privilege, stalling tactics that discredited the party were pursued. Even when all the gates were opened, party members continued to be shut off from taking possession of their own party. Nothing else could be meant by the attempt to prevent an extraordinary party congress. Anyone who wanted to thoroughly clean out the party and to renew it from the bottom, was depicted by people with orders from above as someone wanting to divide the party.

This was the point at which the party grass roots rebelled and began the renewal of the party from below. Many party organizations elected or renewed their leaderships. Groups of comrades prepared proposals for new programs and statutes. Comrades went into the streets and called out: We are the party! On this movement was based the Working Committee, formed on 3 December, which then took up the preparations for the extraordinary congress and was serious about investigating offenses and violations of the law, about clearing up the cases of corruption and abuse of power by SED functionaries.

In this process, it became increasingly visible that the chain of abuse of power goes far back.

What weighs particularly heavy on us is the fact that the crimes of the Stalin period have not yet been clarified and many victims of Stalinism have not yet been rehabilitated. Meanwhile, many of those affected have broken their silence and shown confidence in turning to our party. It is not yet possible to ascertain exactly how many people were subjected to direct repression, but we must reckon with a large number.

Reprisals Against Steadfast Fighters

Those affected were German Communists, other antifascists, and their families who in the 1930's, and in some cases once again after 1945, were sentenced or banished in the Soviet Union. Some of them returned home in 1956.

Those affected were Social Democrats, who were arrested by Soviet security organs, and later also by organs of our State Security Service. Communist Party of Germany functionaries from the Western zones staying in the GDR also fell into the hands of Soviet security organs and the German departments cooperating with them. Members and functionaries of the SED, and also other parties and organizations, were disciplined. Some of them were arrested and sentenced, particularly in the follow-up to trials held in other countries and in the elimination of oppositional forces.

There are also those citizens and comrades who were arrested and often sentenced for political reasons, even after the 20th CPSU Congress in 1956, the full responsibility for which lies with the organs of the SED and the state power.

Every day, new and tragic individual fates become known. This results in a high moral and political duty for us. The majority of these people have remained loyal to their socialist and humanist ideals even though they were subjected to the worst harassments. As far as they were comrades of our party, most of them did not hesitate to work in our ranks after they were released —to work for a socialist future, even though their rehabilitation often took place half-heartedly, shrouded in clauses, or not at all. To many of them we can return their honor only posthumously.

If we want to overcome Stalinism in a lasting way, then we must not only name the facts, we must, above all, question the causes which have led not only to the continued existence of Stalinist rules, but in recent times to some of its particularly repulsive products, as well.

These causes have historic roots, which go back into history in different ways and to differing extents.

There are the specific structures, methods, and allure of the Honecker era.

There are the Stalinist deformities linked with our socialist development in general, and the development of a corresponding system of rule.

There is the misuse of the communist movement by Stalin after Lenin's death and a Stalinist line that reaches back to the 1920's.

Some things probably go back to the Prussian-German idea of the supremacy of the state and the corresponding behavior.

If the entire history of our republic and our party thus comes into play, but we turn the lights off on a certain axis of our development, there is the danger that a picture of the past will develop which has only one color. However, such a picture would be untrue and unjust. The reckoning with Stalinism is part of all-encompassing questions, and these are:

Also a Good Mark on History

What was early socialism able to achieve? What led it into a dead end? What damage was done to socialism as a movement and as a a social practice by Stalinism? Today this cannot be the subject of our discussion in this scope.

But the citizens of our country and the members of our party, who at all times worked for socialism on German soil in good faith and with their hearts and hands, need the certainty that they also left a positive mark on history.

They have done so:

—In that they have overcome fascism and militarism after the liberation from the Nazi regime, at any rate in terms of their being the dominant phenomena in society;

—In that they organized production based mainly on public ownership in industry and agriculture, which at times was able to guarantee notable economic growth;

—In that they brought about prosperity among the people under adverse conditions which, while not keeping pace with the most developed industrialized countries, is a front-runner on an international scale;

—In that they tore down educational barriers, made possible a considerable increase in the level of education and professional qualifications, and created an intellectual climate in which the idea of social justice is part of the basic convictions of many people;

—In that they created a social network and legislation that does not allow anyone to fall into unemployment, homelessness, and social exclusion;

—In that they contributed to the GDR's international standing with achievements in many areas;

—In that they helped the GDR acquire the reputation of a country of peace, in which international solidarity and antifascism have a home.

Sober Analysis of the Past Is Necessary

This and much else must not be lost in the criticism of Stalinism, not least because a sober and sensible analysis of the past is necessary in order to introduce the renewal and to make visible specific starting points for processes of social restructuring. If all this were not there, then we could not claim an apartment in the European home, and we would not be a partner in dialogue for anyone in the struggle for European security and disarmament, and then no one would lift a finger for economic cooperation with us.

Dear comrades, as is known, Marx and Engels understood socialism as a struggle for the liberation of man from exploitation and suppression, as a way of replacing the class rule and slavish division of labor with an "association, in which free development is the condition for the free development of all." The German workers' movement and its most outstanding representatives struggled for this goal, which could be striven for only in the harsh class struggle under the historical conditions. In this struggle, differing views developed about the goal, path, and methods; there were harsh differences that led to the splitting of the German and international workers movement into the social-democratic and the communist strain. Historians will certainly examine again—and more thoroughly—how this ideological and organizational splitting hindered the necessary unity of action, both during the time of its inception and in the further course of its development.

Even though in the further course of our analysis we will also express some ideas about the conditions in the CPSU and in the USSR in the past, this is not interference in the internal affairs of another party, but serves our party's understanding of itself for its further development. We know that in these assessments we agree with the Soviet historians of the present.

Extreme Conditions Marked the Path

In October 1917 the people in Russia, led by the Bolshevik party, started to implement socialism under extremely difficult conditions. Socialism entered world history in a country in which the material and general cultural preconditions were weakest.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was carried out and won in the spirit of peace among peoples, freedom, democracy, human rights, and human dignity. For the first time in world history freedom and democracy were to be put on a realistic economic and political basis.

In the 1920's and 1930's fundamental changes took place in the Soviet Union, which was economically backward and devastated by the world war and the civil war—changes such as industrialization, the cultural revolution, and the consolidation of its international positions. These were facts of historic importance, which are preserved by history.

However, at the same time phenomena developed in the party and in the country which increasingly contradicted the socialist ideal and discredited socialism. A bureaucratic-centralist regime—which Lenin had often warned against—developed whose main characteristics were dogmatism, subjectivism and, finally, dictatorial rule. The humanistic and democratic values of socialism were increasingly turned into the opposite.

We call this regime Stalinist, but it would be wrong to trace its development back only to Stalin's person, even though Stalin did have an essential share in it. Various factors, including the constraints of war on communism, Russia's backwardness, and the lack of profound parliamentary-democratic traditions in Russia, favored the development of a bureaucratic stratum that became effective with the help of the apparatus of the state, the army, the security organs, the economy, and the party. This stratum increasingly removed itself from the people and their needs, and started to exercise unlimited power. Since it owed its social existence to the apparatus, it was interested in the preservation and inviolability of this apparatus. Through this apparatus the Soviet democracy of the revolutionary period was increasingly turned into a dictatorship of bureaucracy; democratic civil rights were restricted, and policy was pursued with violence and terror, as in the case of collectivization, and with a high number of victims.

Alternative concepts as well as criticism of the system or of leading figures were considered "counterrevolution" or the hostile "work of agents." Their advocates were

persecuted and disciplined. A climax of this development lay in the Stalinist reprisals of the 1930's and 1940's, to which millions of people fell victim.

The nature and role of the party also changed. Marx and Engels saw the party of the communists as part of the workers class, a party which "does not have any interests that are separate from the interests of the entire proletariat," and which must see its task in promoting the conditions and the development of the movement, and representing the interests of the class with the utmost determination. In contrast, under Stalin's leadership the party's monopoly of power over the state, the economy, and other social areas was established and steadily expanded. This was not the monopoly of power of the entire party, but of his bureaucratic-dictatorial leading clique, which filled the "core" of the entire upper stratum. While Lenin had repeatedly stressed the method of convincing people as the main method of the political work of the party, also of the victorious state party, and it was now replaced with administration, pressure, psychological and physical terror, up to mass reprisals. Man was demoted to being a "little cog," the object of social development and especially of the political system.

Abuse of the Classics

Trade unions and other organizations received the rank of "conveyor belts," with the help of which the leadership exercised its dictatorship and gave it a pseudo-democratic sheen.

A supporting part of this system was the personality cult surrounding Stalin, but it was not the reason and the main characteristic. The cult around the deceased Lenin, which was intensively pursued by Stalin, served to push away Lenin's teachings, Lenin's concept of socialism. The Stalinists always pretended and still pretend to be Marxist-Leninists. The ideology which is spread by them as "Marxist-Leninist" ideology, however, had the main function of blurring the contradiction between the true values of socialism and Stalinist reality. In this process, quotations from the classics were often abused and also arbitrarily exchanged in order to justify the current policy of the leadership. Assessments and statements by Lenin on certain specific historical situations were taken out of context and dogmatically transferred to other situation. Thus, lies were also the nature of Stalinism. Stalinism meant the demoralization and perversion of intellectual life, as well as the destruction of human values.

Under Stalinist conditions, fundamental ideas and the ethical content of Marxist philosophy and science were distorted. Thus, it was not recognized that Marxism is, above all, theoretical humanism. However, recognition that Marxism and the revolutionary workers' movement are primarily representatives and champions of universal human values and ideals is decisive for a correct approach to all questions of socialist policy. From this position comes recognition of the necessity and possibility of developing this policy as a way of life for the broadest conceivable alliance of all forces of the people, of not excluding anyone, and of consistently striving for democratic consensus and compromises for the realization of the interests and demands of the people. This alliance, which always includes a constructive confrontation of issues, often was not sought honestly and openly, and was destroyed through arrogance and monopolization.

The restructuring of society also demands that we make a radical break with the Stalinist interpretation of the power question. The relationship to political power was essentially reduced to a myth about the possibilities of state instruments of force, which were devoid of all democratic control. The illusion was prevalent that society could not be controlled merely with the aid of centralized apparatuses of rule, but that its development also could be corrected at all times. In so doing, the main political task—the struggle to establish a democratic consensus with all forces of the people on the basic questions of social development, and social agreement on a joint approach to the individual areas of political life—was suppressed. Politics was understood primarily as an instrument of the administrative use of power.

Stalinism Corroded Soviet Society

The Stalinism in the CPSU and in Soviet society which gained the upper hand in the first 15 years of Soviet power did not remain without consequences for the communist movement in Germany. As is known, the Communist International, which was increasingly dominated by Stalin in important questions, promoted the establishment and ongoing effects of sectarian positions in the Communist Party of Germany. The infamous social fascism thesis is the best known example. Sometimes the influence of Stalinism hindered many leading German Communists—despite all their important merits—from recognizing the value of bourgeois-democratic achievements to their full extent and from consistently participating in shaping the joining with Social Democrats and the broadest possible alliance for overcoming fascism and war.

Many shared concerns that had developed in the antifascist struggle were considerably impaired by means of the influence of Stalinist policies. That did not alter the fact that German Communists could lay justified claim to decisive joint determination of the further development of the nation, together with the Social Democrats, after the liberation.

Comrades, with a view to the future, we are obliged to work out a thorough analysis of the causes that led to Stalinist thought and action in our country following the liberation from fascism and how these brought about a deformation of social conditions.

The people who, after 12 years of Nazi dictatorship and 6 years of war, started to eradicate fascism and militarism and to build an antifascist-democratic and, finally,

socialist system, could not freely choose the conditions of their work. They could either look on as our people were sinking into chaos or they could dare to do something new. The members of the workers parties, who were emerging from the underground, were the first ones to start working. They worked for a new democratic republic in which the people exercise the power, in which the most important producer goods are public property, in which a planned economy brings about increasing prosperity, in which privileges are eliminated, and in which there is social justice. The generations of workers' functionaries of this period were certainly aware of the oppressive circumstances of the time, but they were hardly aware of the lasting obstacles. When, despite difficult starting conditions, important things were still achieved for the socioeconomic restructuring of the society, state-owned and cooperative enterprises in industry and agriculture were established, when people from the working class took over responsibility in state, economy, and culture, when a society with unmistakable characteristics developed—this is part of the positive achievements of our people and also of the achievements of our party. We pay tribute to all those comrades who have altruistically worked for socialism on German soil for decades and have achieved great things. A renewal which forgets this would start with new immorality.

When we talk about our development, we also have to take into consideration that it took place in strict dependence on the policy of the respective Soviet leadership.

However, the nature and many of the phenomena of the process of revolutionary changes, which was introduced in our country with the liberation from fascism, cannot be simply explained as a mere transfer of the overall social system in the USSR, which was characterized by Stalin, to East Germany. There are marked differences, such as in the development of the political system, in the paths and forms of the socialization of producer goods, and in the development of the productive forces.

This is explained by important reasons: The first is the USSR's Germany and peace policy in the postwar era, which was determined by the Potsdam agreement and was aimed at establishing a unified, neutral German state. This concept limited the methods and promotion of restructuring by pressure and coercion. Second, the situation on German soil, the permanent confrontation with the capitalist path of development of the second German state and the border, which was open for a long time, acted as a corrective agent.

Third, the German workers movement had a long socialist and democratic tradition, parliamentary and extraparliamentary experiences, which could not be simply eliminated. The SED and a special path toward socialism, as it was envisioned in the SED's principles and goals decided in 1946—this was the hope for a new start, both for the Social Democrats and the Communists. This chance was also due to the fact that the antifascist-democratic change gave rise to a form of application of democratic principles [Demokratismus], which mainly emanated from members of the workers movements. The then-existing antifa [antifascist] committees, shop stewards, the new democratic self-administration, the youth committees, women's committees, the block committees, the land reform committees, the resettler committees, and the people's control committees—these were organs with which more and more working people were included in a revolutionary change in the society. In many respects, the current popular movement for the renewal of socialism is based—whether consciously or subconsciously—on the tradition of this application of democratic principles as it particularly emerged among the workers movement in times of revolutionary changes.

Leadership Was Not Prepared To Carry Out Any Renewal

The break in this development became obvious in 1948. Symptoms of this were the Soviet-Yugoslav conflict, which was caused by Stalin, the political show trials in people's democratic countries, and, as a result of these and other events, decisions of the SED and measures of political criminal prosecution, which discriminated against many comrades. Affected were, for instance, Comrades Franz Dahlem, Lex Ende, Max Fechner, Willi Kreikemeyer, and Paul Merker. When there have not been comparable public show trials and death sentences in our country this is, not least, to the credit of leading comrades of our party. Steps to uncover and overcome certain consequences of Stalinism were introduced with the 20th CPSU Congress in 1956. Thousands were released from prison, comrades were also released, and some were rehabilitated, but much remains open and needs working through.

At almost the same time, however, there were new reprisals in connection with the events in Hungary in 1956. Walter Janka was one of the victims of this time.

Attempts at correction for a renewal of socialism in the years 1953 and 1956, which still require more exact evaluation—and that also applies to the events of 17 June 1953—soon came to a halt or were brought to a halt. Any research into these causes was forbidden with the argument "do not permit a discussion of errors, or eliminate errors through progress." That favored the continued existence of a top leadership that was not prepared to carry out any fundamental renewals. This allows us to raise the question anew concerning the assessment of the political clashes with the so-called Herrnstadt-Zeisser and Schirdewan-Wollweber groups and the correctness of the party punishments decreed at that time. Everything that can be cleared up in this matter must be cleared up.

In the 1950's a process advanced which led to the development of the SED top leadership having the monopoly on decision-making in society, although the first Constitution of the GDR, which was valid at that time, did not provide for this. This reached its peak in a decision made in 1960, which declared decisions of the

party leadership as binding for state work. It was the overcentralization in the political system which led to the overcentralization in the economic life of society, and not the other way around.

Comrades, our present is burdened more heavily and directly by the incorrect developments and failings of the subsequent period. At the beginning of the 1960's, the SED leadership said that socialism was now developing on its own foundations within secure borders. Beginnings full of hope for a renewal grew out of this, but many possibilities were squandered.

The inconsistency of the 20th CPSU Congress and its evaluation in the GDR had long-term effects. There was the interpretation that the personality cult around Stalin and the crimes linked with it are alien to socialism and are not rooted in the system and its structures. This had an all-the-more-disastrous effect the more socialism was challenged by the scientific-technical revolution, global problems, the new civil and human rights movements, and finally the CSCE process.

Productive Start Could Not Be Effective

In the middle of the 1960's, there was a productive beginning for a new economic system, which was supposed to lead away from the command economy and toward an effective economy, regulated primarily by economic instruments. However, a new economic system could not take root unless an opening in political and intellectual-cultural life also took place. This was obstructed, however, mainly by the self-understanding of the party, which continued in the Stalinist tradition. We have to deal consistently and in a self-critical way with a concept of the party, which justified the claim to a monopoly on truth and even accepted privileges as a matter of course.

A number of unsolved problems, which require further examination, are linked with the traditional self-concept of our party.

The impetus of the Prague Spring, which could have been made productive within the community of socialist countries, was not understood. Critics such as Robert Havemann and others were supposed to be silenced.

On the threshold of the 1970's, the eighth party congress, which later was overestimated beyond measure and was used for the cult around Erich Honecker, awakened hopes with its political style, which was different in many respects, and with the closer linking of economic and social policy. These were fulfilled by the then-general secretary only selectively, and in the short term on internal policy, but for a long period of time in foreign and peace policy.

As soon as Honecker felt that he was firmly in the saddle between the top people of world politics, his need for recognition grew in inverse proportion to his actual political stature.

The general secretary and his Politburo, who did not feel accountable to the Central Committee and who did not exercise collectivity, did not understand what positions the GDR had to take on issues of human rights, opportunities to travel, and changes to the border regulations. The outward dialogue and the inward refusal and the reprisals against people who thought differently had to deepen the chasm between the party and the people, had to lead toward extreme contradictions. We must reappraise our country's policies in the 1970's, with all their contradictions. A critical analysis of the achievements and mistakes of our party at this time is of great significance for the renewal of our society. For example, in the area of the economy, the developments during this time prove what socialist concentration can do, and at the same time what happens when economic developments are wrongly programmed by blocking processes of democratization and ignoring science.

Also characteristic of the deficit in the theoretical basis of the policy was a completely simplified image of capitalism, which corresponded to old ideological stereotypes, had a purely agitational significance, but did not recognize the potentials of modern capitalism.

In the end, all this had to lead to a crisis, to the political collapse.

In 1985, when the CPSU set the course toward perestroyka and glasnost, a way out would probably have been possible if our country had been boldly and level-headedly led onto the path of de-Stalinization. Given the fact that our country and its economic situation are easily understandable, and given the still-remarkable political stability, a prudent course of reform would have had better preconditions than in the USSR. But the old leadership, which was obsessed with power, was unable to understand this, and it was also far too deep in the morass to seriously desire a renewal. All warnings and demands were ignored and suppressed; critical party members were disqualified as grumblers and naggers, and were expelled from the party en masse. A justification was provided by the resolution on ideological work which was adopted by the Politburo in December 1988.

Course Opposite to Perestroyka

Honecker and those around him increasingly moved away from the party grass roots and the people. They embarked on a course that went in the opposite direction of perestroyka and glasnost, and which was particularly demonstrated by the ban on SPUTNIK magazine, by the unpleasant article in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND about the Communist International, which discriminated against Soviet historians and discredited historical sciences in the GDR. The court reporting in the media and the data about success—which were contrary to all experiences in life and were, as we know today, false—became increasingly unbearable and turned into the inflammable matter of public protest. Finally, the opening of the Hungarian borders broke through all dams.

The slogan "Socialism in the colors of the GDR" was explained by the rejection of perestroyka and glasnost. Today we have to describe this time as "Stalinism in the colors of the GDR."

From what has been said here, the committee puts forward the proposal to the party congress for compensation to the victims of Stalinism:

1. The rehabilitation of all those who become victims of Stalinist persecution, whether in the USSR or in our country. To this end, contacts should be taken up with the relevant Soviet bodies.

2. The party executive will have the task of investigating everything that can be learned about the fate of individuals, but also about responsibility and guilt.

3. We offer our cooperation in an independent investigative committee composed of people affected, lawyers, historians, and other persons. Our party will make the results of its inquiries available to this committee.

4. We support preserving forever the memory of the victims of Stalinist crimes in our society. The dignified memorial proposed by others, the evidence of memory, and the maintenance of existing museums and memorials, as well as our fiction and nonfiction should all serve this end.

Consistently Eliminating Harmful Structures

The consequences for the future, meaning the removal of the structures that make such deformations possible, must be expressed in the new program, in the new statute, and in a new and critical approach to our own history, which is not apologist and does not gloss things over or leave anything out. All of this must ensure:

—the separation of party and state;

—electability from below to above;

—the recognition of different opinions within the party, too, and their reflection in the media, etc.

The working groups' conclusions on the four abovementioned items will be made available to the public. We consider dealing with this item on the agenda as a further step in turning away from Stalinism and as support for the further process of overcoming it consistently.

As part of the responsibility of the working group, which was established by the working committee for the preparation of the extraordinary party congress and is headed by Comrade Heinz Vietze, the report "On the crisis in society and its reasons; on the responsibility of the SED" was worked out with the active participation of committee members Markus Wolf and Ulrich Peck; Guenter Benser, Marxism-Leninism Institute; Kurt Finker, Potsdam Padagogical College; Karl-Heinz Jahnke, Rostock University; Kurt Libera, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence; Gisela Schott, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence; and Michael Schumann, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence.

Important additional work was done by Manfred Banaschak, EINHEIT editorial borad; Rolf Hoth, National Security Office; Hans Marnette, Potsdam Padagogical College; and Hermann Wandschneider, Party College.

The working group thanks all comrades who have submitted their ideas on this topic.

Anti-Soviet Desecration of Memorial Condemned

LD2812182189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1646 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer, speaking to ADN today, condemned in the strongest terms the anti-Soviet, nationalist desecration of the memorial in Berlin-Treptow.

The perpetrators, who managed to escape last night from the People's Police patrol because of thick fog with 30-meters' visibility, revealed themselves to be dangerous right-wing elements by carrying out this monstrous deed.

The crime can only give rise to outrage and abhorrence in our country of democratic renewal, the government spokesman added. Such crimes cannot damage the friendship and the shared commitment of the GDR and the Soviet Union to democratic socialism.

The government knows it is one with the citizens in acknowledging that everything must be done to combat the right-wing, extremist neo-Fascist dangers in the GDR in a determined way.

CSSR President Havel To Visit 2 Jan

LD2912115789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1132 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—CSSR President Vaclav Havel, president of the CSSR, is to pay a visit to the GDR on 2 January.

Havel has been invited by the Professor Dr Manfred Gerlach, acting chairman of the GDR State Council.

GDR-FRG Exchange Rate for Travelers Set

LD2812130189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1037 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Ministry of Finance and Prices has communicated the following to ADN:

As provided for in the joint statement on the meeting between Prime Minister Hans Modrow and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the GDR Government has announced that beginning 1 January 1990 it is prepared to allow citizens traveling to the GDR to exchange deutschemarks for GDR marks at a rate of dm 1 to 3

GDR marks. This means that in changing currency a ratio is used which emanates from the agreement between the GDR and the FRG on the acquisition of travelers' means of payment by GDR citizens in the proportion of dm 200 to 600 marks, which is, in effect, a ratio of 1:3.

The realistic nature of this exchange rate is determined by a number of factors resulting from differences in the pricing systems, differences in the supplies of goods and services, and differences in productivity and efficiency. It has to be taken into account that the cost of services, transportation fares, and prices for cultural and sports events and for a number of food items are lower in the GDR, whereas conversely in the FRG and West Berlin, the prices for high-quality food and semi-luxury goods, some industrial products and electronic consumer and fashion goods are lower. With the stated exchange rate, a legal possibility was created for acquiring GDR marks which is adapted to present realities and serves to protect the GDR currency. This measure is backed up with customs checks at the border crossing points and with further measures that correspond to the interests of citizens. Stipulations that, for example, lead-free gasoline can be sold only at Inter filling stations and for deutschemarks remain in force. When staying at hard-currency hotels, bills must be paid in deutschemarks, as before.

With all these measures, the government want to counter a speculative exploitation of visa-free travel and to protect the legitimate interests of all GDR citizens.

More Money for Transfer of Bank Account Assets

AU2812131889 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 28 Dec 89 p 3

["pt" report: "GDR Increases Its Payments for Transfer of Assets on Bank Accounts"]

[Excerpt] Duesseldorf, Wednesday, 27 Dec 89—In the framework of FRG Government talks with the GDR concerning the installation of a German-German foreign currency fund for travel, the GDR has declared it was ready to increase its payments to the transfer of assets on bank accounts from DM70 million to DM100 million per year for the years 1990 and 1991.

In addition, the GDR will make a single payment of DM60 million in the first 3 months of 1990 to cover the amount of money that is currently outstanding [to former GDR citizens in the FRG who left money in the GDR]. According to Deutsche Bundesbank, this decision guarantees that in the future it will again be possible for former GDR citizens, who—on the basis of special bilateral agreements—have the opportunity to have assets transferred from accounts in the GDR or in East Berlin to the West, to immediately receive their money. However, the condition for this is that the number of applicants does not rise substantially, it was stated. [passage omitted]

Momper, Krack on Joint Plans for Berlin

AU2812151989 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 25 Dec 89 pp 43-48

[Interview with East Berlin Mayor Erhard Krack and West Berlin Mayor Walter Momper by Christian Habbe and Wolfgang Bayer in East Berlin—date not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] DER SPIEGEL: This interview is a first. For status reasons, the two top representatives of the two halves of Berlin looked, as it were, right through each other until recently....

Krack: ...Looking right through each other is not the correct expression when you take a look at me and also at Mr Momper.

Momper: Nobody can fail to see us and we also cannot fail to see each other. And we have personally known each other for some time. We have got on well with each other from the beginning.

DER SPIEGEL: What do the four powers say to such contacts?

Momper (laughs): We simply have a small two-power agreement. But seriously: We have concluded an alliance of municipal policy, of reason, and neighborly relations because we want to achieve something for the people, whether they live in West Berlin or in East Berlin. And I believe that we are both determined to achieve this.

Krack: It would have been useless to discuss a change of the four-power agreement, in order to meet later. Therefore, we said that we would exchange our ideas on specific questions of municipal policy, would not alter the present status, but deal with the questions of how good-neighborly relations can be created in the interest of the Berliners of East and West. We have made up our minds to do this.

DER SPIEGEL: Have the two small powers already discussed the question what functions of a capital the city could have some day?

Krack: No, you know, we have always proceeded from realities. Only in this way did our talks become possible.

Momper: By the way, East Berlin is fulfilling the function of the capital of the GDR, there is no doubt about that. This can be clearly seen. And I suppose that Mr Krack is satisified with this.

DER SPIEGEL: But what will become of you?

Momper: The interesting thing is that in the future the large-scale area of Berlin, with approximately 5 million inhabitants and the strengths of the two halves of the city, will regain its importance as a metropolis for its surroundings—not only for the GDR, also for Europe. It is the largest region between the Ruhr area and Moscow. If its powers are united, we will get great cultural and economic influence. The practical organization will be our task now.

Krack: I can absolutely imagine that Berlin itself can give an important impetus to the further development of the entire CSCE process, but also to developments which—if the relations between the superpowers continue to be positively developed—might not be insignificant for the European process.

DER SPIEGEL: There will be many obstacles on this course, for example as regards currency policy. [passage omitted]

Krack: We have to take care that this good course, which was initiated on 9 November, will not be used to prepare the ground for speculations, drug trafficking, or gunrunning. Otherwise, we would have to resort to other measures. [passage omitted]

Momper: The difference to the time before 1961 is: At that time, did each of the two sides try to harm the other. Today we want to act in such a way that none of the two sides is harmed. After all, we also have more than 90,000 unemployed. Illicit GDR workers would profoundly disturb our social peace.

We do not want to be deprived of work which is rare anyway and, on the other hand, we do not want labor shortage in the GDR. This has to be regulated. We think that the duty to obtain a permit has to exist on both sides. Only if both sides really agree, will commuters, that is, certain specialists from the East, be able to work in the West. I also presented this problem to the Federal Government, which clearly realizes that the legal regulations have to be changed on our side; for in the GDR the duty to obtain a permit already exists. [passage omitted]

Joint Venture With FRG on Compact Disks

AU2912090889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Joint Venture for the Production of Compact Disks"]

[Excerpt] Dresden (ADN)—Within the context of the political talks, the first intra-German joint venture between the Robotron Combine and the Pilz company, Kranzberg near Munich, was agreed on in Dresden. The project envisions the construction of a modern factory for the production of compact disks. The FRG company Pilz will participate in this joint venture with a 33-percent share in the venture. [passage omitted]

The factory will probably start production at the end of 1991. [passage omitted]

Calls for Reunification Criticized

AU2912145189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Dec 89 p 1

[Gerd Prokot commentary: "Loud and Low"]

[Text] I can still hear them, the shouts of "Germany, Germany" of the Dresden citizens, who were waving black-red-gold and green-white banners and celebrated the chancellor of the other German state like someone who brings salvation: "Helmut, we need you!"

Well, what for? As the great wizard who frees us from all our problems and worries by waving his wand? Who makes the economy efficient, the roads smooth, and the currency hard? We will have to go to this trouble ourselves. By the way, FRG companies do not leave any doubt that they consider the offer for cooperation as help to make us help ourselves. It is to be welcomed that the framework conditions for this have been established in the meeting between Modrow and Kohl. One has to thank the two heads of government for this.

However, obviously those who asked the chancellor on their knees to annex the GDR as the 12th FRG land, better today than tomorrow, did not mean this. Just because those in favor of reunification were shouting loud enough, it was by far not the people's voice that was heard there in front of the Frauenkirche. The range of opinions is far wider than it seems. On the republic's average, at present 7 out of 10 GDR citizens support the existence of two German states. However, the differences are great: In Plauen, for instance 80 to 90 percent are in favor of reunification, according to the ZDF [second FRG television station], in Neubrandenburg Bezirk [area] only 10 percent are in favor of reunification.

"To me it seems important," Karl-Heinz Linkert from Schwarzenberg wrote us, "that the citizens, who support the socialist GDR, do not permit themselves to be silenced by those who shout for reunification." The 50,000 people in Berlin on Tuesday evening [19 December] set an example, less loudly but all the more insistently.

Gysi Receives French Official on Visit

AU2812230889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "French Guest Visits SED-PDS (Socialist Unity Party-Party of Democratic Socialism) Chairman"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Wednesday evening [20 December] in Berlin, Gregor Gysi, chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism, and Jean Louis Bianco, secretary general of the office of the president of the French Republic, who accompanies Francois Mitterrand, held an exchange of views on the sitaution in the GDR and on the German question. The politicians concurred that everything must be done to preserve stability in Europe. The borders on the continent must not be called into question.

Further topics of the conversation were closer economic cooperation as well as the expansion of tourism, in particular for youth. The two politicians discussed mutual support in training at universities and in language studies.

Mitterrand's Visit to Nation Viewed

AU2912121389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23-24 Dec 89 p 2

[Claus Duemde editorial: "France, Us, and Europe"]

[Text] The fact that Francois Mitterrand's visit to the GDR was more than a usual state visit for the French could be felt in Paris in various ways. Hardly ever before has one of the president's trips abroad been met with such great interest even before it started—and not only by the media.

In France it was registered with attention how many ministers, politicians, and prominent figures from business, science, and culture accompanied the president to the GDR. And the coverage of Mitterrand's meetings and statements in Berlin and Leipzig had rarely been so comprehensive, despite the dramatic events in Panama and Romania. Of course, there are reasons for this. In addtion to the interest, yes, even the sympathetic feelings for the changes in our country, which were effected by the GDR people, there is also the concern about the stability and peace in Europe, the future of the EC and our entire continent, for which De Gaulle outlined the prospects of togetherness "from the Atlantic to the Urals" decades ago already.

Today this is considered more topical than ever in Paris. Therefore, the press concurrently stressed that Mitterrand focused on this aspect in the GDR and stated in Berlin France's readiness to be the host of the Helsinki II conference in Paris in 1990. "Concerning all his interlocutors, Mitterrand welcomed the will to defend 'their own values,'" LE MONDE wrote. The FRG, the "natural partner" of the GDR, will not be its only interlocutor as regards cooperation: "France is ready 'to contribute its share' to support the economic and democratic restructuring in the GDR." This is proved specifically by the agreements, which were signed in Berlin on Thursday [21 December].

The conservative QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS is certainly right, which advocates the view that the first-time presence of a head of state of one of the three allied Western powers in the GDR "certainly marks in a sensational way the renewed recognition of an East German identity." LIBERATION chose the headline: "Mitterrand Pleading for East Germany" and noted that "as regards this 'other' Germany," he "held a rarely heard positive speech," and in an interview for FRG television he even developed "the new concept" of a "German people of the GDR."

"Francois Mitterrand is obviously interested in spreading a little, simple message," LIBERATION says: "Europe's stability is too important to immediately touch upon the borders. The necessary conclusion is: two German states, both of them democratic—this is not that bad in the end, at least for a certain time."

Maleuda Meets Officials of European Parliament

AU2812193389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Meeting With Representatives of European Parliament"]

[Text] East Berlin—An exchange of opinions which took place in Berlin on Tuesday [19 December] between People's Chamber President Guenther Maleuda and a delegation of the European Parliament, headed by Kirsten Jensen, chairman of the interparliamentary delegation for GDR-CSSR relations, focused on questions of the process of renewal in the GDR and the further shaping of relations between the People's Chamber and the European Parliament.

Soviet, Hungarian Differences on Romania Noted

LD2812140189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Imre Pozsgay is to meet Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow in January. This was stated by Pal Vastagh, member of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] Presidium after concluding his talks in the Soviet capital. [passage omitted]

Jozsef Meruk, leader of the MSZP's Foreign Affairs Department, said in reply to a question following the talks that regarding an analysis of the international situation there is fundamental agreement. Regarding Romania, however, the opinions of the two parties differ.

It is known that the MSZP severed relations with the Romanian party because of the bloody retributions, while the CPSU did not adopt a standpoint.

Romanian Envoy on Ceaucescu Execution

LD2712125289 Budapest MTI in English 1142 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 27 (MTI)—In an interview carried by the Wednesday issue of "NEPSZABADSAG", Traian Pop, ambassador of Romania to Hungary, said that the embassy staff had learnt from the radio at 7 p.m. on Monday evening that Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu had been condemned to death and executed. In the following quarter of an hour, the staff compiled and sent to Bucharest the following statement: 'In this historic moment, we wish to express our whole-hearted satisfaction over the news on historic justice. Never in its history has the Romanian people known such tyrants as those condemned and executed now.' The ambassador said the staff of the embassy obliged itself to serve the sacred cause of the revolution consistently and make everything possible to enforce, in the spirit of good-neighbourliness and peaceful operation, the new foreign policy of Romania.

Mr Pop said that although their connection with Bucharest was sometimes broken, they kept listening to the Hungarian radio and television and obtained correct information from the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest as well.

The Romanian ambassador expressed the conviction that as soon as the situation is settled and a foreign minister is appointed, the minister will issue a statement on Romania's intention to put its foreign policy on a normal basis. 'The dictatorship of the Ceausescu family did great harm to Romania's foreign policy and isolated the country from the outer world. I hope this situation will change now.' Mr Pop added.

The ambassador said that the consular section of the embassy resumed normal operation. 'All who were born in Romanian are allowed to return to their homeland. We have been instructed, however, not to encourage their return until the internal situation has been normalized,' he said.

U.S. Citizen Said Spying for Hungary Arrested

AU1412161689 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Dec 89 p 2

[MTI report: "Spying for the Hungarians?—Intelligence Agent Caught?]

[Text] The Italian press has published new details about the military intelligence agent arrested in Vicenza last week, who allegedly worked for the Hungarian intelligence service. The 42-year-old Italian-born U.S. citizen, Tommaso Mortati, was a sergeant in the U.S. Army until 1987. He is accused of providing military information and documents to the Hungarian military intelligence service.

According to LA REPUBLICA, the junior officer confessed to his spying activity directed at the large U.S. military base in Vicenza. His American wife was employed at this military base. During his active duty in 1984 and 1985, he approached several U.S. and Italian officers and tried to gather information from them for money.

FRG and Austrian counterintelligence colleagues informed Italian counterintelligence about Mortati, who had contacts with U.S. citizen Zoltan Szabo, who was arrested in Vienna 1 month ago. (One of Szabo's agents, Sergeant Clyde Lee Conrad, had already been arrested at the U.S. base in Heidelberg in August, and later Captain John Hirsch from the U.S. Air Force was also arrested.)

The officials found a Sony radio transmitter and a small encoder in Mortati's apartment in Vicenza. He transmitted his coded messages through this radio transmitter at the sound of a certain musical tune, writes LA REPUBLICA. Mortati met Szabo in 1981. Later, he also visited Budapest for 15 days of training. According to the Italian press, he received $500 monthly and separate fees according to the value of the information.

* MDF Rebukes NYT on Anti-Semitism Charge

90EC0171 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 14 Dec 89 p 3

[Letter from Denes Csengey, Democratic Forum National Presidium member, to THE NEW YORK TIMES editorial offices issued in Szekszard on 4 December. Letter not published by the editor of THE NEW YORK TIMES; sent to MAGYAR HIRLAP for publication]

[Text] Originally, Denes Csengey mailed this letter to the editorial offices of THE NEW YORK TIMES to reflect upon statements made by that American newspaper. But since thus far the addressee has not found it fit to publish

the letter, Csengey, a member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] National Presidium, asked this newspaper to publish it.

"To: the Editor, THE NEW YORK TIMES

"Sir:

"I am writing to you from Hungary, more accurately: I am in a mortuary. My father died a few days ago, and we have not buried him yet. So you can imagine how important I feel about what I have to say. I am disrupting my new sense of grief to present this case.

"A week after the referendum took place in Hungary the Hungarian press presented some quotations from your newspaper. To the outrage of many, they told the public that MDF leaders were anti-Semites, and that anti-Semitism is the primarily force that guides Hungary's largest opposition party in formulating its policies. These quotations stated, for example, that we were indeed engaged in political debate with the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] because many of their leaders are Jewish.

"Since this grave accusation also involves me rather closely, I must tell you that your reporter is uninformed in this regard. Human rights is one of the foundation stones of MDF's political philosophy and program. Within that the protection of national, ethnic and religious minorities, and the advancement of the enforcement of their rights carries a special weight. Accordingly, we were not, are not, and will not become either anti-Semites, or the enemies of, or threats to any other minority. We always judge the views of our political partners, but we never judge their descent.

"Saturating Hungarian political debate with such poisoned background content would lead to tragedy. Therefore anyone who labors on injecting such content [into our political debate]—whether he does so uninformed or unknowingly—not only disregards the facts for the sake of creating gossip, but also endangers our nation's unity, the purity of our political life, and in the final analysis the wholesomeness of the democracy which is to come about.

"At the same time the political consequences of this incident are contrary to the statements of US president George Bush supportive of Hungary, violate your country's East European interests, and cause disturbances in Hungarian-American relations, which we would like to nurture with particular care.

"Mr Editor, I am aware of the fact that the head of the MDF office has registered our protest to this capital mistake in the Hungarian press, but his statement was made with understandably disturbed emotions. And thus, although what he had to say was true, his statement was hard hitting and offensive at the same time. And whatever is hard hitting and offensive can be easily set aside and disregarded in politics.

"This is why I decided to repeat our protest in a more staid tone of voice.

"I am also aware of the fact that at present the results of last weekend's Malta summit are in the focus of attention, and that at your offices, in one of the news centers of the world nothing could be less interesting than commentary on a daily news item of the previous week, that originates from a hardly known small country.

"Except for the fact that also you know: A charge of anti-Semitism and the outrage that evolves around such charge is not a daily news item. It is a live pain in the body of humanity that has been around for 45 years.

"I believe that every person and every organization has a right to wipe off slippery defamations and erroneous rumors from his face in this moral issue of conclusive weight, and to report his own viewpoint in his own words.

"This is why I am asking you, Mr Editor, to publish this letter.

"If you do so, you will not only make me grateful but will also take a stand in support of justice.

"Respectfully,

"Danes Csengey, member of the MDF National Presidium

"Szekszard, 4 December 1989"

Postscript—Among Ourselves

To this date the American newspaper has not published this letter. This is understandable at first glance: it is a small matter, an old case, the attention of the world press has wandered elsewhere.

Upon more thorough examination one wonders, nevertheless.

Because it is true perhaps that viewed from New York, Hungary is not such a big case. The Hungarian case equals ten million impoverished, excited people involved in hard to understand conflicts, after all. One cannot waste too many words on that.

But the charge that landed among us was launched from there, stigmatizing and raising fear in many. We did not want to be afraid, we did not want to become frightened.

Viewed from there—and this would appear as seemingly understandable at first glance—ten million people are not that many people.

But that is our number. Ten million is neither too much, nor too little. To us it means everything. At this time in this fateful moment of our history we must look into each other's eyes calmly and with confidence, and not in a stigmatized, intimidated manner.

This is what I want. This is why I decided to publish in Hungary the letter that was addressed elsewhere.

Szekszard, 13 December 1989

* SZDSZ Campaign Against Pozsgay Viewed

90EC0167b Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 5 Dec 89 p 3

[Article by Gabor Fodor: "From the Past to the Future"]

[Text] The other day a BBC reporter asked Miklos Haraszti what he thought of Imre Pozsgay's political future. Haraszti is one of the striking, definitive personalities of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ].

This was his response: "Frankly, I don't know. We thought that history would remember him kindly for the role he played in destroying the state party, but this gives no cause for him to hinder the democratization process during the next four years with or despite his best intentions as a greatly empowered president—in practice a shadow of the past."

Perhaps it should not be regarded as political naivete to assume that among people with better disposition, who not only voice their democratism there will be some who do not become offended if Haraszti's response evokes electioneering inclinations in me. If for no other reason, this would be consistent with the script provided by the rules of the modern political game: I am a member of the party which nominated Pozsgay for the presidency. I am convinced, that Haraszti would be likely to regard this as a natural; his public appearances thus far did not leave even a shred of doubt in me that he is the spiritual heir to Voltaire who said: "I do not agree with a single word you said, but I will defend your right to say what you said until I die."

Nevertheless permit me to add a few remarks to Haraszti's impromptu argument—to its impersonal content of general applicability. I will do so with the benefit of perspective, a practice which so frequently evokes some lack of confidence in politics on all sides. Permit me to do so despite the fact that Imre Pozsgay's future is not a private matter! But irrespective of the small extent to which Pozsgay's future may be regarded as a private matter, I regard the more abstract issue of who should, and who should not be regarded as a mere shadow of the past as being more essential, and of a greater caliber.

Great changes accompanied by upheavals always matured in times which were later regarded by people simply as the past. And in these upheavals not only those who wanted to change the existing system played a great role. To the contrary: all lessons learned from history will testify to the fact that in most instances it took more, not less courage, inventiveness, determination and will to—let's call it what it is—disintegrate a power structure based on old faiths and convictions from the inside, a power structure that could not have been challenged from the outside.

Thomas Becket was recorded not only by history. He was noticed in his age, although everyone knew that the archbishop of Canterbury who stood up against royal power, and who identified himself to the ultimate with the interests of his church could not have become what he did without the initial confidence, moreover support of royal power. But this did not change the facts at all, because after a certain point people were not interested in the point from where he started. They were interested in what he accomplished.

Tom Paine could have never become the legendary figure of the American Revolution, one of its leader's who had a calling, had people not listened to his incendiary words in the heat of struggle—words that mobilized so many—but would have observed that he came from Europe which was old and hostile. On top: he did not come [to America] as a consistent advocate of independence, but as a simple fortune hunter. In time he hardly left behind more than the miserable life of a garter belt maker, of an alcoholic who stumbled about on the periphery of human existence. Except for the fact that Northerners were not interested in that because they wanted to win. [As published]

I do not know who could have a more clear "cadre record" than Pozsgay. He was assigned to head the Patriotic People's Front because he argued too much. Could Becket have a better record because he became archbishop as a result of his obedient royalist conduct? Or the garter belt maker turned revolutionary whose previous life could have been more than suspect?

Others should decide this matter. If it is worth their while. I am afraid, however, that one could hardly accept either view while denying the other views. And I am saying all this—let me repeat—not as one of the unsolicited spokesmen for the presidential election campaign, but as a person guided by the conviction that the shadow of the past is never cast on the present by those who stand up for the future.

Finance Ministry Official on Forint Devaluation

AU1312204289 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 6 Dec 89 p 5

[Report on interview with Finance Ministry State Secretary Peter Kunos by Pal Emod; date and place not given: "Things Will Not Work Without a Devaluation"]

[Text] On 4 December, the government announced a measure that has been expected for months, namely a 10 percent devaluation of the forint compared with the convertible currencies, as a result of which in 1989 the forint has lost a total of 21 percent of its value compared with the aforementioned convertible currency. We asked Peter Kunos about the background of the decision and about the macroeconomic connections of this step.

[Kunos] This year's devaluations have reflected the differences between the foreign market and domestic market prices. It is well known that we can maintain the enterprises' interest in exporting only if their incomes in forints increase more rapidly than domestic prices.

[Emod] This was obviously one of the major viewpoints, and the other was probably dictated by the IMF. What devaluation of the forint did the IMF demand from us?

[Kunos] We cannot speak of demands, because the IMF generally makes proposals, proposals that are in harmony with our intentions; at most, we can disagree on the acceptable levels.

[Emod] There is obviously a debate about the economic policy priorities, too. In connection with the devaluation, a question arises on the priority of the economic policy: financial balance or the struggle against inflation?

[Kunos] In my opinion, we can stay afloat only if we preserve our international solvency. However, this is only possible if we come to an agreement with the IMF, which will obviously come with conditions. Recognizing this, we have taken those unpopular measures: First, we limited the supply of hard currency for tourist purposes, then we set a value-added tax on private vehicles, and now we have devaluated the forint. The so-called debt-cleaning program recently submitted by the premier to parliament is also part of this "package." We must also add that these measures have expressed the government's efforts to halt unfavorable financial processes and to firmly reduce and later halt the process of indebtedness. As for the continuation, next year we will considerably reduce the budget deficit, that is, this year's expected deficit of 50 billion forints cannot exceed 10 billion in 1990.

[Emod] Naturally, the aforementioned measures could be accompanied by great social tensions, by the possible elimination of insolvent enterprises, and by considerable unemployment. Does the government take all this into account?

[Kunos] Unfortunately, we have to accept these tensions, and simultaneously we must see to it that we develop a social protection network. Therefore, together with the devaluation, we must conduct a strict but more selective credit policy than the current one, while we must rationally reduce budget expenditures, too. If the government delays the aforementioned necessary measures, in a few months we will have nothing to decide upon.

Grosz Interviewed on MSZMP Future

AU2312025989 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 18 Dec 89 p 3

[Interview with Karoly Grosz by unidentified MAGYAR NEMZET reporter during a break in the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP) congress in Budapest on 17 December: "Grosz: The MSZMP Is an Opposition Party"]

[Text] [Question] What is the responsibility of the present Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] for the past 40 years, and particularly for the economic policy of the last 10 to 15 years?

[Grosz] Obviously, we made mistakes in our economic policy during the past 15 years. I would say that we have been victims of serious economic mistakes. As an excuse, we can say that we wanted to avoid increasing burdens on the population.

[Question] Is the MSZMP an opposition party?

[Grosz] Yes. Today the MSZMP is clearly an opposition party.

[Question] If the current MSZMP is a party organizing from below, why do former MSZMP politicians make up the leading body? Is this not a retention of power?

[Grosz] This is a naive question. We have participated only in the preparations, and we have no intention of saving positions. I also said in my report that we will have a dual-level party leadership: in the basic organizations, and in the Central Committee to be elected here. We want to be the membership's party.

[Question] One of the speakers said that there is a power restoration under way which essentially wants to put a ruling class in power again which let 1 million Hungarians perish in the two world wars. What is your opinion on this?

[Grosz] I do not agree with this. However, I do agree that the restoration efforts aimed at changing the regime have gained ground.

[Question] What relations will you work out with the socialist countries' parties, especially with the Romanian party?

[Grosz] We will gladly contact every communist, social democratic, and progressive party that is willing to cooperate with us. I would like to remind you that it was the MSZMP which opened this gate widely during the Kadar regime. We want to continue this policy by returning to the old, well-tested methods. We will cooperate with the Romanian Communist Party, too, but only if the relations express mutual interests.

Fur Relinquishes Presidential Candidacy

LD1112223489 Budapest MTI in English 2117 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, Dec 11 (MTI)—In the legal situation that emerged in the wake of the referendum of November 26, I can no longer consider myself a candidate for the post of the president of the republic, Lajos Fur of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) announced in a statement sent to MTI on December 11.

The HDF office holds the view that at present no one can regard himself as a presidential candidate. Due to the referendum, the president will be elected by the new parliament. A direct election will only be possible if parliament amends the related law. In this case, MDF will nominate a candidate again.

Court Official Lists Registered Parties

AU1912133389 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Dec p 5

[Report on interview with Municipal Court Deputy Chairman Maria Almassy by Tibor J.Keri; date and place not given: "How Many 'Official Parties' Are There?"]

[Excerpt] The law on political parties has been in force since 30 October. According to the law, the various parties have 3 months in which to register and thus to maintain their legal status.

We asked Maria Almassy about the registering requests submitted during the last 6 weeks:

[Keri] How many requests have you received?

[Almassay] We have received 28 requests so far, but this number only includes the parties that operate in our jurisdiction, because the law stipulates that the various social organizations can register at the competent county courts in their area.

[Keri] Of the aforementioned 28 requests in Budapest, how many have been given the green light?

[Almassy] Thirteen parties. These are the following: the Hungarian Liberal Party, the Hungarian Socialist Party, the Hungarian Radical Party, the Hungarian Liberal People's Party, the Independent Social Democratic Party, the Hungarian National Party, the Eastern People's Party (Christian democrats), the Social Democratic Party of Hungarian Gypsies, the Voks Humana Movement, the Entrepreneurs' Party, the Hungarian Greens Party, the Christian Democratic People's Party, and the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

[Keri] What organizations are still waiting for a positive response?

[Almassy] The following organizations have registration requests pending: the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Republican National Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, the Hungarian People's Party, the Hungarian National Christian Democratic Workers Party, the Independent Hungarian Democratic Party, the Hungarian October Party, the Hungarian Independence Party, the New Hungarians Justice Party, the Association of Hungarian Freedom Party, and the Homeland Party. [passage omitted]

Smallholders Party Official on Tasks

AU2012080389 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 15 Dec 89 p 6

[Article by Pal Dragon, deputy general secretary of the Independent Smallholders Party: "National Conference in January—The Smallholders Party Promotes Peace"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Opinion polls show a 3 percent increase in the party's popularity, and a further increase is to be expected in the opinion polls carried out at the end of November. The Smallholders Party is not alone: it is allied with every force that is a true believer in democracy, the market economy, and private enterprise. We already have friends, and we hope that their number will continuously increase. [passage omitted]

Although we consider agriculture and industry based on agriculture to be the basis of our economy, the Smallholders Party is not a class or strata party. Our party is based on morality which believes in human dignity, in the family as the basis of everything orderly, in the joint power of free people, and in the community. We have been proudly displaying our principles for many decades, but we have never cut ourselves off from those who have been struggling for an independent Hungary based on national foundations. We are pressing for a coalition, national cooperation, and for understanding toward minority opinions. [passage omitted]

The party's bodies were elected by a large majority of the general meeting held in Erd. These bodies have been functioning ever since then. The party's election and press office planned a national meeting for 9 December, and we postponed this precisely in order to make it possible for all the basic organizations to learn our positions and management plans. We have a foreign policy program, and we have an agricultural program, which was partially stolen by the Hungarian People's Party. We have an economic program that meets with the ideas of a lot of American economists. We have a health program, which we firmly assert at the meetings of the health affairs roundtable discussions. We have an entrepreneurial program, and we also have election guidelines. We were among the first to press for holding National Assembly elections as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

Vitanyi Views New March Front Tasks

AU2012102889 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 6 Dec 89 p 5

[Interview with New March Front Secretary Ivan Vitanyi by "B.K."; date and place not given: "Ivan Vitanyi: Our Goal Is To Revive Social Solidarity"]

[Excerpts] [Question] Worthy of its spiritual predecessor since its inception last year, the New March Front has been functioning as a social compass and a consensus-creating forum seeking solutions for a peaceful transition. However, recently your voice seems to have quieted down as the various parties have become increasingly louder. Now, you have again come up with a firm position proposing interparty cooperation to handle the economic crisis.

The legal and organizational frameworks of a multiparty system are beginning to emerge, and so are the institutions of interparty coordination, while—although no exact time has yet been set for the elections—the election

struggle, the elections campaign, is in full force. What can be the function of your movement in the current situation?

[Vitanyi] It seems that society demands political activity not necessarily linked to various parties, and there is a need to organize forums where people can argue, think together, and coordinate things. [passage omitted]

[Question] How do you intend to implement this task?

[Vitanyi] By organizing broad debate meetings and a political club movement. However, in order to really hold such meetings and to make sure that the debates do not lose their purpose, the participants should not represent narrow party interests but should accept a more universal and national point of view. Starting from such considerations, we tried to encourage people to think together about how to deal with the economic crisis. [passage omitted]

[Question] What is your opinion: Would early elections ease the economic problems?

[Vitanyi] We should hold elections as soon as possible because the elections themselves could also mean some sort of mass catharsis, and this could temporarily calm down the economic problems. I must add that the new coalition government in itself will be unable to solve our many economic problems in the short term. I also fear that we are facing a series of government crises. In this situation, I see even more reason for reviving solidarity in our society, something our movement has been encouraging.

[Question] Will the New March Front run in the upcoming elections?

[Vitanyi] Of course it will not run. [passage omitted]

FIDESZ Official on Referendum Results

AU1512061689 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 8 Dec 89 p 5

[Report by correspondent Balazs Stepan on interview with Union of Young Democrats official Istvan Hegedus; date and place not given: "A Cautious Change of Cadres Will Be Needed—The View After the Referendum"]

[Excerpts] According to the evaluation by the Union of Young Democrats [FIDESZ], the referendum has created a new political situation. The victory of the "yes" votes on the first question makes it possible for parliament to dissolve itself at its upcoming session, and the interim president of the republic could set the first free and democratic parliamentary elections for 18 March. The FIDESZ formulates all these as demands. It hopes that a new parliament will be ready and able to work in the spring. By then, a Western European-style system could develop in Hungary, too: a rotation-system at the government level based on balance of power. [passage omitted]

According to Hegedus, the FIDESZ would welcome an election campaign in which the parties would not act rigidly and exclusively along the frontlines of the referendum, but every party would propagate its own program and would focus on the future. [passage omitted]

Thus, the FIDESZ wants to see a struggle of independent parties with firm concepts in the election campaign. The FIDESZ does not feel that the Hungarian People's Party is an independent political force. According to Istvan Hegedus, the FIDESZ is not alone in this, as the new agrarian parties currently being organized do not think that the People's Party deals with the villages' problems either. According to Hegedus, if they are able to develop their internal structure, on the basis of their past and their names, the Independent Smallholders Party and the Hungarian Social-Democratic Party could represent a serious political force. [passage omitted]

According to the FIDESZ, the development of a Western European party structure could begin in Hungary, too. As for what this means for Hungary, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] would be engaged in politics on the basis of a clearly conservative, popular, and Christian concept. Along with the MDF, a social-liberal wing, and a moderate, nonextremist socialist wing could also emerge and could comprise several organizations. These two or three large groupings would provide a broad enough scope for the creation of a healthy rotational government system. This would avoid the emergence of an unfavorable and dangerous excess of power. [passage omitted]

According to Hegedus, the forces that gathered together could create a social-liberal coalition capable of winning the elections if they treat each other with proper consideration. The entrepreneurial spirit prevailing in the Smallholders Party, the liberal economic policy concept of the Association of Free Democrats, the energy of the FIDESZ, and the pragmatic economic concepts of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party are compatible with each other. [passage omitted]

Analyzing the situation of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] and the collapse and reorganization of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], Hegedus said that, following the MSZMP's collapse, the center of power shifted to the government, which tries to act independently. Today it is already clear that the government is unable to reach quick decisions and deal firmly with the crisis. In spite of all this, the FIDESZ regards the government as a partner in negotiations. [passage omitted]

According to Hegedus, a very cautious change of cadres will have to be carried out, mainly at the top. The mechanisms that emerged in the Kadar era might last a long time, until we succeed in making the economy respond to the market and until we extricate ourselves from the crisis. Once we succeed in this, we can say that we have finally passed the state-socialist and post-state-socialist systems.

Further Reaction to Unrest, Events in Romania

Socialist Party Expresses Support

LD2412164489 Warsaw PAP in English
1412 GMT 24 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 24—Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Polish Socialist Party PPS Andrzej Malanowski visited here today the Romanian ambassador to Poland.

Recalling that on many occasions the PPS has participated in rallies outside the embassy in support of aspirations of the Romanian nation, Malanowski expressed, on behalf of the Supreme Council, regret in connection with the tragic toll in that country.

He asked the ambassador to convey to the new Romanian authorities words of solidarity and full support for those fighting for independent and democratic Romania.

Walesa Statement

LD2812140289 Warsaw PAP in English
1200 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Gdansk, Dec 28—The Press Bureau of the chairman of the Solidarity today presented Lech Walesa's statement on the events in Romania to PAP's branch office in Gdansk. Excerpts:

A tremendous movement for freedom, democracy and human rights is sweeping central Europe. With a feeling of immense satisfaction—but also responsibility—we note that this movement originated in Poland that it was Polish Solidarity which gave rise to this wonderful phenomenon of the peoples and nations of central Europe awakening.

I think with utmost pain about how great a price of blood the Romanian nation paid for liberation from the inhuman dictatorship of Nicolae Ceausescu.

I am convinced that no one is capable of stopping this historic evolution restoring traditional values of our civilization in central Europe. We, therefore, side with the Romanians in their just struggle. We will assist and back the Romanian nation with all our might.

However, I deem it my duty to say that law should be restored by law, that terror and violence should be countered by the rule of law and respect of justice. I appeal to the new Romanian authorities not to introduce any summary courts and immediate executions.

Lithuanian 'Sajudis' Delegation Coatinues Visit

LD2812214889 Warsaw PAP in English
1956 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 28—"We are doing a good job starting to settle the problems that exist in relations between us," head of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring "Sajudis" Vytautas Landsbergis said in the wake of the two-day talks with the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group headed by Bronislaw Geremek.

They discussed the need to strengthen the feeling of safety and mutual confidence, and problems of the border traffic, prospects for economic cooperation, legal and historical issues of the Polish-Lithuanian relations and the situation of Lithuanians in Poland and Poles in Lithuania.

On Thursday, the "Sajudis" delegation met with Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski and state minister in the Polish President's Chancellary Piotr Nowina-Konopka.

French Socialist Leader Mauroy Pays Visit

Meets With Mazowiecki

LD2312110289 Warsaw PAP in English
0120 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 20—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki received today visiting Pierre Mauroy, first secretary of the French Socialist Party and former France's premier.

The two politicians discussed the current situation in Europe, and especially the ongoing transformations in the eastern part of the European Continent. Mauroy was interested in the socio-political and economic situation in Poland. Against this background discussed were possibilities of expanding Polish-French cooperation and French economic aid for Poland.

Also today Mauroy met with Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

This afternoon the French politician and accompanying officials visited the Sejm (lower house of the Polish parliament) where he met with members of the Presidium of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club. The meeting was attended by Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski, Senate Vice-Speakers Andrzej Wielowieyski, Zofia Kuratowska, Jozef Slisz, Senators Edward Wende, Andrzej Celinski and Deputies Bronislaw Geremek and Adam Michnik.

We are very interested in Polish developments and establishing regular contacts with Solidarity and Polish authorities, Mauroy told PAP.

I would like to stress that I have good reasons to be satisfied with meetings with friends in Poland though I have never visited your country before. It is an important visit for me also because I am mayor of Lille, the region with numerous Polish residents who started to settle there in 1922. I want to erect a monument in Lille to commemorate the achievements of Poles in our land, he added.

Talks With Walesa, Rakowski

LD2312110389 Warsaw PAP in English 1904 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 21—On the last day of his visit to Poland paid at the invitation of President Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Socialist Party and former premier of the French Republic Pierre Mauroy went to Gdansk this morning to meet Solidarity leader Lech Walesa.

The two discussed the current situation in Europe and in particular the advancing process of reforms in the countries of Eastern Europe. They expressed their common indignation and condemnation of Romanian authorities for their methods of dealing with the demonstrators in Timisoara. Polish-French economic cooperation was also discussed at length.

After the meeting Walesa told journalists: I stressed in our conversation that we need the West's support to prove that our system is reformable. The West is not going to lose by aiding Poland and other East European countries, and everybody is going to gain something. If, however, there is going to be no aid, disorder and destabilization faces the whole of Europe.

Pierre Mauroy said on his part: We spoke of the significance of what had happened in Poland for Eastern Europe and Europe as a whole. We also spoke of socialism as an idea of freedom, equality and human rights, as a system differing from Communism.

Having returned from Gdansk, Mauroy met with First Secretary of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) Central Committee Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski. The sides briefed each other on activities of their parties and discussed possibilities for their further cooperation according to decisions made during both politicians talks held in June, 1988 and last February.

They also stated that their parties could make an important contribution to the expanding Polish-French dialogue which is particularly needed in the face of changes going on in Europe.

Rakowski and Mauroy devoted much attention to the prospects of all-European cooperation and to the role played by leftist forces in Europe. Rakowski conveyed to Mauroy an invitation for a representative of the French socialist Party to attend the 11th PUWP Congress.

The meeting was attended by socialist Party Secretaries Pierre Guidoni and Gerard Fuchs and PUWP Central Committee Secretaries Leszek Miller, Wlodzimierz Natorf and Slawomir Wiatr.

After the meeting, Mauroy went to the airport and left for Paris.

Rakowski Comments on Meeting

AU2812130389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22-26 Dec 89 p 1

[Report on interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Polish United Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, by unidentified TRYBUNA LUDU reporter, following Rakowski's meeting with Pierre Mauroy in Warsaw on 21 December]

[Text] We asked Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee first secretary, the following question: Will the PZPR ever again attain the level of its former good relations with the French left?

[Rakowski] Let me begin by saying that my meeting with Pierre Mauroy took place at a highly significant time, namely, shortly before the PZPR Congress, which is scheduled to take place in January 1990. We anticipate that this congress will give rise to a new party of the Polish socialist left. I think that this new party will enjoy good relations with the French left. Our ideas should be of interest to our partners in France. We do not regard ourselves as the poor relation in the relationship. We have inherited a rich legacy of tradition handed down to us by many generations of the Polish left. It is a rich and important legacy.

PZPR Daily Views New SED's Prospects

AU2812192989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Dec 89 p 5

[Jerzy Weber commentary: "Will They Succeed?"]

[Text] The former party leadership headed by Erich Honecker deemed the social eruption in the GDR in October to be counterrevolutionary in character. However, in actual fact, the activities of these people and the way in which they ran the party and the GDR state bore all the hallmarks of counterrevolution. This statement made at the extraordinary Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Congress, one that was made several times and was put in even plainer terms during the second half of the meetings last Saturday and Sunday [16-17 December], has far-reaching consequences.

It is a condemnation of a system which was created to realize humanist values, but that in reality posed the greatest threat to these values. The history of the GDR demonstrates that dogmatic, sectarian socialism that favors people of a low caliber, even at a time of general detente in the world, can create conditions for terror and feudal rule exercised by small "leading" groups.

The greatest wrong that Egon Krenz committed against the party was that, upon becoming Honecker's heir, he essentially had no intention of changing the sectarian structure of the system he had inherited. He immediately assumed the three main posts in the state and said publicly that he was "only a Communist." He preferred to hurriedly issue a decision on opening the border in the

middle of the night rather than to risk calling an extraordinary party congress. He counted on it being possible to extend the life of a system on which the population of the GDR and the overwhelming majority of SED members had already issued a verdict...

He did so as GDR society was awakening, and in doing so it contributed greatly to the crisis of social confidence in the party, the level of confidence having already hit rock bottom.

Today it has to fight for its right to exist in the GDR. It has to fight hostility, and at best aversion, on the part of the majority of society; attacks endangering the health and lives of individual members; lynchings and persecution; and political obstructionism practiced by other parties and groups that wish to curtail its influence, its partner-like cooperation in the process of fostering agreement in the country and in international dialogue.

So, we can say that the total discrediting of the totalitarian rule of Honecker's SED has not only placed a question mark over the party's right to exist, but also over the right of the GDR, which is the creation of that party, to exist.

Will the revamped SED-Party of Democratic Socialism, a democratic party advocating democratic socialism, increase the chances of survival for the GDR? This will depend on several factors. The most important one is how quickly and how convincingly the current atmosphere of leveling charges at and being suspicious of the party will be dispelled. No less important is whether the SED-Party of Democratic Socialism will remain on that side of the political barricade that carries the name of the other, socialist German state. The attitude of other left-wing parties in Europe toward it will also be of significance in this respect. Another factor is the general direction of the course of political developments on our continent, which embraces, above all, what form agreement among nations on a solution to the so-called German question will take.

The question of whether they will succeed in this will give rise to many further questions. The next few months will provide the answers, answers that will be of importance not just for the GDR.

Walesa Holds News Conference 28 Dec

LD2912013689 Warsaw PAP in English 2350 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Gdansk, Dec 28—"O, sancta simplicitas", exclaimed Lech Walesa at today's press conference here today when replying to a question whose author voiced fears that in the face of an announcement of free elections in the neighbouring countries, to take place soon, the 35-percent democracy decided upon at the "round table" put Poland not in the position of a leader in the eastern bloc but at the very end. Walesa stressed that "Poland has led and will continue to lead in reforms for a long time."

We are further today and this will yield interest, Walesa stressed. But I am anxious for Europe. The system can really prove unreformable if there is no one to start economic reforms. I am afraid that a cycle of bringing people to account and escapes will start in Europe. Agreement—like the one between Poles—can be a solution for others.

Developments in Romania

While referring to the recent developments in Romania, Lech Walesa said that this could have been predicted.

But I do not like such a fast action now—with executions. One should give them a chance to improve, said he.

Gdansk Shipyard and Zarnowiec Power Plant

Lech Walesa expressed concern over an impasse in the talks on a company of the Lenin Shipyard with Barbara Piasecka Johnson.

If a decision to liquidate the shipyard was a political one, a political decision should be made now to change it, said Walesa.

Asked about his attitude towards the construction of the nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec, Walesa said: Being a practician I do not like losses. Billions have already been spent on Zarnowiec and it is a waste of money. One should remember that there are such power plants around Poland and that their technology is worse than ours.

Visit to Soviet Union: When?

Asked about plans concerning his visit to the Soviet Union Walesa said that the period February-March was being examined. I have been prepared for a long time but there is no need now for great and quick talks. The Soviet Union has a lot of its own problems. The situation in Poland is clear and stable. I do not press and they do not either.

Lech Walesa also confirmed that a Solidarnosc congress would probably take place in March.

The Solidarnosc chairman wished Poland so that in 1990 concrete effects of political changes which took place in 1989 be ensured to Polish society. [sentence as received] We have political possibilities. Now we need new actions and new mechanisms, said Walesa.

Wroclaw Solidarity Criticizes Walesa Statement

LD1912095189 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 1505 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] The Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity Regional Executive Commission of Lower Silesia issued a statement today, which reads: The Executive Commission Presidium is of the opinion that the public statement by Lech Walesa concerning such an important issue as special powers for the government

without consultations with the [Solidarity] National Executive Commission should not have taken place. The NSZZ Solidarity chairman is not a private person and the entire union bears the consequences of his statements.

Rural Solidarity Supports Mazowiecki Government

LD2312105689 Warsaw PAP in English 2243 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 21—The newly-elected National Council of Rural Solidarity met in Wilanow outside Warsaw today.

The new 10-strong presidium elected Antoni Furtak, Zygmunt Hortmanowicz and Roman Wierzbicki its vice-chairmen.

Addressing a press conference held in the wake of the meeting, head of Rural Solidarity Gabriel Janowski said that there were plans for a meeting in the near future between the organization's leadership and Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Primate Jozef Glemp.

In a statement conveyed to journalists the National Council stressed that Rural Solidarity continued to trust and support the government's farming policy.

"We warn against the continuation of this policy because we would like to save the government from losing the support of the Polish countryside and from food shortages," the statement read.

Poll Shows Support for National Institutions

AU1912141389 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13 Dec 89 p 3

[Report signed 'B.D.': "The Big Twelve"]

[Text] In November, the Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS] carried out a survey to determine what society thought about major sociopolitical institutions. The big twelve institutions involved were: the Sejm, Senate, government, church, "Solidarity," the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation], PZPR [Polish United Workers Party], ZSL [United Peasant Party], SD [Democratic Party], Army, militia, and television.

The respondents were asked whether the work of these institutions serves society. According to the replies given, the Sejm, Senate, government, church, and "Solidarity" enjoy an equal level of very high support. Each of these five was approved of by over 85 percent of the respondents. The degree of support for television, over 72 percent, was also relatively high. Almost two-thirds of the respondents said they supported the Army. The ZSL and SD each earned the support of about 40 percent of respondents, the OPZZ earned the support of over 36 percent. The support expressed for the militia was not much greater. The support expressed for the PZPR was much lower, less than 14 percent,

These results illustrate that society's attitude toward these chief institutions of our public life is widely divergent. People perceive much more clearly the links that join the institutions surrounding Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government, in other words the links between the Sejm, Senate, government, church, and "Solidarity." The PZPR, OPZZ, and militia are at the opposite end of society's approval. What is interesting is that people tend not to regard the ZSL and SD as parts of the present government coalition. Instead, they are considered to be part of the PZPR camp.

On the basis of these results, CBOS sociologists claim that society's view of the political balance of forces in Poland is clearly divergent.

However, television seems to pose an exception. It is no longer identified with the PZPR. Instead, society places it closer to the government. It is also enjoying increasing approval.

PAP Polls Politicians on New Year Hopes

LD2912133189 Warsaw PAP in English 1141 GMT 29 Dec 89

["PAP Poll on 1990 Wishes for Poland"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 29—Before the new year, PAP asked the leading figures of Poland's socio-political life: What do you wish Poland and the Poles in 1990? Here are some of the replies:

Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa

I was recently reminded of a recording from a year back which carried my Christmas Eve wishes for Poland in 1989. At that time I wished Poland the round table which was the only way out for us then. This year I therefore wish the effects of this 'table': Primarily for those 60 percent of society who take no interest in politics but await results. Today we have political capabilities and a beloved premier, as I have read in the paper. I also love the premier, but this is not the point. We also have speeches in the Sejm and Senate. This is all beautiful, but one must finally draw practical effects from this. And these will come if our ideals and these people provide the solutions, different ones, new mechanisms. The big effects must come fast. If we do not see them in 1990, we will protest once again. I know that things will change thanks to these new solutions. What is important is that this take place fast and efficiently.

PUWP [Polish United Workers Party/PZPR] Central Committee First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski

I wish the successful unknotting of the numerous knots which we tied ourselves or which were knotted for us.

I would like to wish everyone, myself inclusive, for the next new year to be celebrated in more favourable economic conditions than now.

Democratic Party Central Committee Chairman Jerzy Jowiak

In the difficult 1990 which will not be free of sacrifices I wish for our endeavours and aspirations to create a new economic order to be accompanied by the to-date patience, responsibility and self-discipline, for the effects of the government's economic reform to become visible by the end of next year. I also wish for a system of power corresponding to the will of the nation to be set up in democratic local self-government elections.

PSL "odrodzenie" [Polish Peasant Party "Renaissance"] President Kazimierz Olesiak

I above all wish all the families social peace and hope for a better future. I believe that along the road to agreement, solid work and readiness to sacrifice, we will be capable of going through the most difficult period of our economic development. We also need patience and faith in our strength, in the ability to build a sound and strong home.

OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] Chairman Alfred Miodowicz

Poland first and foremost needs internal peace and success in the struggle against the crisis, the crisis which we will not overcome overnight, but we cannot allow it to break us and waste the achievements of frequently the whole life of many families.

Geremek on Impact of Economic Reforms

PM2012145089 Paris LE MONDE in French 19 Dec 89 p 8

[Unattributed report: "Between 300,000 and 3 Million Unemployed in Poland Next Year"]

[Text] Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Solidarity parliamentary group, who was the guest on the Radio Luxembourg-LE MONDE "Grand Jury" program on Sunday, 17 December, described his country's problems at a time when economic reforms are being announced.

"Nobody knows how many unemployed people will be produced by the new measures," he stated in particular. "The question was put to the government in parliament and it replied honestly that it was impossible to give a figure at the present time. This figure could be between 300,000 and 3 million...for the first half of next year."

"We hope that we will be capable of limiting the phenomenon to local unemployment.... In some regions, there will be tens of thousands of unemployed people. Our problem is a shortage of housing and we cannot move the surplus labor force to other regions. We are at present incapable of building enough housing in places where there is work. We are therefore forced to think about the creation of a kind of social assistance network...." "Do not think that the Poles expect foreign aid and think that everything around them will be changed by other people! They are aware that they themselves will pay the price of the reforms. They are fully aware that the future of these reforms depends only on themselves.

"The Poles dream of a CocaCola society and of a society based on human rights.... But people's very existence is now in danger in Poland.... There are 4 million people who have fallen below the poverty line.... In 1968, when, in the Western countries, values were lost to some extent, people here were struggling for freedom.... We know what we want. We think that the most difficult thing is the economy. The future of human rights in Poland depends on our success in the economic sphere."

With regard to the German question and the question of borders, Mr Geremek said: "There is no problem about the Oder-Neisse border. There is a problem regarding the political fiction of Germany within the 1937 borders. This is a dangerous political fiction for the whole of Europe and not just for Poland. It brings back the idea of a Greater Germany. This is a European not just a Polish problem."

OPZZ Council on Government Economic Policy

LD2112000889 Warsaw PAP in English 2146 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 19—The council of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) adopted a stand on the government-presented assumptions of the 1990 economic policy. The council's statement reads in part:

Stressing once more the necessity for changes in the economy, we cannot agree to the methods of effecting them. No trade union can be indifferent towards the proposal of unemployment, the sell-out of national property, full liberalization of prices coupled with the practical freezing of wages. In our opinion, the adopted methods lead to limiting consumption and to further fall in production. We warn against the possibility of emerging the second wave of hyper-inflation after achieving equilibrium on a drastically low level.

The OPZZ Council once more confirms its will to sign social contract between the trade union movement and the government on such basic questions for working people as: the level of wages and prices, the level of consumption, the scope of social benefits, changes in the employment structure and ownership changes.

Government Viewed Responsible for Economic Program

AU2812151489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Dec 89 p 2

[Anna Pawlowska commentary: "False Bookkeeping"]

[Text] Among propaganda circles close to the government there is a noticeable desire to shift responsibility for the future social cost involved in the economic changes that are being introduced, on the recent and the not so recent past. The general argument runs along the following lines: Dear nation, you will wake up after the

New Year's Day celebrations in the merciless grip of the "new economics"; exorbitant prices on all goods; the return of wretched unemployment, which has not been seen for several decades; and the existence of your workplaces threatened. However, please do not think, dear nation, that your present plight is the fault of the present government and its foreign contractors, the people who are to blame are "them," "the past ones," the last 45 years of "that regime" are to blame, so please settle your just account with them.

I understand and even share the fears about what might happen in Poland when society realizes how bitter this medicine really tastes—medicine that has been concocted by Deputy Premier Balcerowicz—and says "no." I understand that the situation demands propaganda ploys which try to sweeten this bitter pill. Everything, however, has its limits.

Let us develop the line of thought that was stated at the beginning. Let us assume that political power in our postwar liberated country had passed to the same political forces that are wielding it currently, and that those political forces began to implement their program which they termed "a return to a normal world." Would the owners of the housing blocks have rebuilt them any faster? Would German, French, or Belgian capital have clamored to invest vast sums in putting our devastated industry back on its feet? Would the landowners have sent their agricultural laborers to plow the lands by the Odra River? I have my doubts.

"That regime" has on its account a whole pile of blame, faults, and stupidities. The nation has settled its account with "that regime." Altering the current calculations by including in them accounts that have already been settled and entered in the books, is simply falsifying the books. One of the authors has described the oncoming situation in Poland as a "settling of accounts with the departing regime." Why not a settlement of accounts with the incoming regime?

It is high time to look seriously at this issue. Efforts to reform the economy in the last 10 years faltered against various obstacles. There was a lack of determination and consistency. There was the resistance from the leadership cadres that were bogged down in and tied to the old regulations. The threatened private sector defended itself regularly, and there was strong lobby pressure from a variety of unofficial groupings. All this is true, but this truth needs an appropriate explanation.

"That regime" differed from the present one in many ways. One of the most important differences is the present authority's ability and determination to add up the social costs involved. This should not just be on the basis of: "Can the nation take it?"—as is being done presently—but also: "Ought one to put such a burden on the working man?" This was the "policy that disrupted the healthy functioning of the economy." Every time we lost sight of these words we experienced a social explosion. Sooner, or later one has to concede the truth of these words. The arithmetic does not depend exclusively on the measure of support that one may enjoy. The figures reflect an objective truth. Every system of authority must answer the question: What maximum social price is involved in the realization of my program? Does it include unemployment running into hundreds of thousands? What level of social divergence is permissible? What percentage of the national wealth can be auctioned off in foreign market-places?

It is possible that "this regime"—without doubt treated more favorably by the West, and enjoying a large and hitherto unquestioned trust of wide social circles—will be able to implement the economic change of direction that it has planned. It may be that this change raises Poland's position much higher in the international division of labor. It is possible that in accordance with the government's declarations, we ordinary working people will feel the blessed effects of this government's endeavors within the next 4 months. Let us hope this happens. In such a case, all glory to the government and the forces that created the turnaround, and the government's program.

If, however, this does not happen, and matters go differently, what then? The bottom line which Premier Mazowiecki mentioned on taking office cannot only apply to any future successes. Once the red line is drawn, it is binding, even when it encompasses failure. One set of accounts will be above this line, and another set will be below it. Any attempts to carry any future failures above this red line may be very tempting. But it will be falsification, and cooking the books is punishable all over the world....

Mazowiecki Interviewed on 'Economic Landscape'

LD2312111989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Interview with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, by Andrzej Janicki; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Janicki] Premier, maybe you can share some thoughts after the 4-day deliberations by Parliament and about how you see next year's economic landscape in Poland, our country?

[Mazowiecki] I think there are various critical voices, as you have heard, but we realize that this economic plan, this budget can't be regarded as ideal. It has to be regarded as something which is, we think, optimal within the framework of existing conditions. It is, of course, assumed that there will, perhaps, be essential corrections in the course of implementation.

To your second question, about the landscape, I will answer thus: I think we have had enough of frightening each other with the difficulties to come. Realistically, I want to say that the first months will indeed be very difficult. (?If) we can hold on patiently and with the feeling that things will get better later, then I think

something fundamental for the Polish economy will happen. That is, we will over come inflation. It should (?be achieved) somewhere around half-way through the year and then I think that in production, but not all at once, (?there will be) a decided improvement. We will be on the way to better things. Those are the assumptions; those are our calculations, but of course life always brings corrections. We always expect these corrections to be on the minus side, but sometimes life brings them on the plus side. So, let's (?think) like this. If we are consistent, there might even be corrections on the plus side.

[Janicki] I meet and talk to many people and they say that they are trying to accept the program of Premier Mazowiecki's government and do everything (?to make things better).

[Mazowiecki] Well, nothing makes me happier than such comments and such an attitude, because I think that everything depends on people's attitudes. It's difficult to promise anything easy here, but it's probably because we tell the truth. It is difficult and will remain so for some time yet; there is this sort of reaction. Nobody wants stagnation; everybody wants improvement, but we will go through a difficult period before that improvement comes. However, [word indistinct] a period giving rise to hope for absolutely fundamental economic changes.

[Janicki] What can a Polish Radio journalist wish Premier Mazowiecki for Christmas and the coming new year?

[Mazowiecki] I think rest and the (?certainty) of not losing people's confidence.

[Janicki] Thank you for the interview.

[Mazowiecki] Thank you.

Miodowicz Opposes Balcerowicz Proposals

LD2312112189 Warsaw PAP in English
2240 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Tarnow, Dec 21—"I am against the order of solutions proposed by Vice-Premier Balcerowicz," leader of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ Alfred Miodowicz said in Tarnow today.

"What he proposes is to get rid of the budget deficit in the first move and to increase production at the end. We think," Miodowicz stated, "that one should begin from the production growth and end with the deficit reduction. We agree to market economy but we are against the lack of reaction on the part of the government to spontaneous and frequently unfounded price hikes.

"We do not support the 19th-century-like reprivatization. We come out in favour of the liquidation of hidden unemployment but against open unemployment. We are also against the selling out of the national property," he said.

Sejm Discusses Economic Laws 27 Dec

LD2712235989 Warsaw PAP in English
2230 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 27—The Sejm (lower house of Polish parliament) started here today its last meeting in 1989. It was called in connection with urgent economic laws discussed upon before Christmas and next considered by the special committee.

The Sejm extended the agenda by two points. The first one is a committee's report on deputies' draft amendments to the law on duties and rights of Sejm deputies. The second one is a report of the Legislative Committee on deputies' draft amendments to Poland's constitution. It is to be discussed at the end of the present, several-day meeting.

Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz announced that the Senate's amendments to the text of the law on constitutional tribunal are a sign of Senate's future legislative initiative. The point is in endowing the Senate with powers similar to those of the Sejm, particularly as concerns lodging cases in the constitutional tribunal.

The Sejm amended the law on deputies and rights of Sejm deputies. The changes consist mainly in including senators in the law and in making its provisions compatible with the constitution amended last April.

The deputies heard reports of the special committee on government draft laws connected with stabilizing the economic situation and changing the economic system. Committee's chairman Andrzej Zawislak expressed hope that the nation will stand the worsening of living standards stemming from implementation of new economic policy. The greatest threat is in delay and awarness of this must accompany the [words indistinct].

The Sejm discussed two drafts, namely on amending the law on finance economy of state enterprises and on amending the law on taxation on remunerations growth.

The latter draft proposed by the special committee differs little from the government's version. Dispute in the committee concerned mainly the degree of real wages drop in the first months of 1990.

The Sejm amended the law on finance economy of state enterprises with 284 votes for, 20 against, and 59 abstentions. All amendments to the draft voiced by deputies were rejected by the Sejm.

On the other hand, some of the suggested amendments to the draft law on taxation on remunerations growth in 1990 were taken into account.

For instance, the most controversial question of joint ventures was solved. In tune with the government's draft, the companies are to be excluded from general rules of taxation. The law was adopted with 272 votes for, 17 against, and 85 abstentions.

The Sejm is to resume debates on Thursday morning.

Political Prisoners Association Reported

AU1912100489 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Dec 89 p 3

[Report signed '(mars)': "The Association of Former Political Prisoners"]

[Text] The Association of Former Political Prisoners, with its seat in Plock, was founded 3 months ago, in September.

Former political prisoners may join the association, regardless of their citizenship, place of residence, or time and place of conviction. An important qualification for admission is that the conviction must have been valid in law and must have been caused by deeds committed for political motives.

Therefore, political prisoners sentenced by Hitlerite and Stalinist courts, and even by Polish courts in the 1980's, may join the Association.

One of the members is a 27 year-old Polish citizen who was arrested in Poznan in 1985 for carrying several pictures of Jozef Pilsudski and a "Solidarity" diary. For this, he was sentenced in the name of the Polish People's Republic to 1 and ½ years imprisonment and a fine of Z150,000. This year, the Regional Court informed him that his sentence was quashed, and recognized that his deeds had been committed out of politival motives.

One of the purposes of the Association is to help former political prisoners receive compensation for unjust conviction. This also applies to people sentenced by Soviet courts and courts of the Polish People's Republic.

The Association's council of management has already received about 500 applications for membership, including from large bodies of people in Szczecin, Nowy Sacz, Ostroda, and Czestochowa, who at the same time declared that they had resigned their membership of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy.

"We would very much like to welcome all prisoners of Hitlerism and Stalinism," says Tadeusz Rudnicki, the Association's chairman. "By means of a Senate commission, we wish to make contact with our fellow countrymen who were victims of Stalinism and who are still living in the USSR."

Details of membership can be obtained by telephoning Plock 220-34, extension 79.

Lubusz Border Guard Brigade Disbanded

LD1712105589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 17 Dec 89

[Text] Another military unit, the Border Guard Troops Lubusz Brigade, was disbanded yesterday as part of the restructuring of the Armed Forces.

Militia Chief on Crime, Party Membership

AU1812131389 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 13 Dec 89 p 2

[Jerzy Jachowicz report: "Wire-Tapping and Records"]

[Text] Speaking at a meeting with journalists on 12 December, General Zenon Trzcinski, commander in chief of the Citizens' Militia, said: "The police should continue to have the right to conduct covert wire-tapping operations, which are an important part of their work. This right is only exercised with respect to people who are suspected of having committed homicide. I am the only person who has the right to issue the necessary permission. I have never breached this regulation in my 2 years in this post.

"In view of the increase in the number of crimes and the drop in the detection rate, the police must be able to maintain its undercover employees, its informers, squealers, stool pigeons, or whatever you wish to call them. That they are paid and paid well is not something that we conceal at all from public opinion. Criminals are also prepared to pay a high price to have their secrets protected.

"There has been an enormous increase in thefts of private property. Private persons' lackadaisical attitude is also a contributory factor.

"Some deputies have called for the police to be deprived of the right to keep records of fingerprints, but this is something that the police cannot give up, because it lies in the public interest. However, there should be separate legislation regulating whose fingerprints can be taken, who has to the right to take them, and under whose supervision this should be done. This is because there have been frequent abuses by functionaries."

General Trzcinski said that membership of a political party should be the private affair of the individual functionary. He added that the current level of party membership, which is particularly high among officers, amounts to more than 80 percent, but this will fall following the January Polish United Workers Party Congress.

He also expressed explicit support for the idea of trade unions for militia functionaries. "If they are to be set up, then they should only be independent unions. If they are not, then it is not worth bothering one's head about it." One the other hand, he did not come out explicitly in favor of separating the police from the Security Service. However, he considers the existence of a joint leadership for both divisions to be the cause of many of the militia's current weaknesses.

New Constitution; Government Changes Made

Decree on NSF Constitution

AU2812234189 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2116 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Decree issued on on the Constitution, organization, and functioning of the Council of the National Salvation Front (NSF) and of the local councils of the NSF—date and place not given]

[Text] Dear compatriots, Oliviu Tocaciu, member of the Council of the NSF and vice president of the Constitutional, Juridical, and Human Rights Commission, is here to be present while we will present decrees and decree-laws issued by the NSF.

Decree-Law on the Constitution, organization, and functioning of the Council of the NSF and of the local councils of the NSF:

The NSF has been established and represents the unification of all patriotic and democratic forces of our country for overthrowing Ceausescu's dictatorial plan; for uniting the aspirations of the largest masses of people and of our country for a free and dignified life, and ensuring the framework for their assertion.

To establish democracy and freedom, and to assert the dignity of the Romanian people, the NSF has been established as a supreme state power body.

The NSF unites representatives of all patriotic forces of the country; of all categories, and all nationalities.

To achieve a genuinely democratic society in our country and to ensure and defend the basic rights of man and citizen, the program of the NSF Council envisages:

—abandoning the leading role of a single party and establishing a pluralist democratic government system;

—organizing free elections in the course of April 1990;

—separating legislative, executive, and judicial power in the state, and election of all political leaders for one or at most two mandates.

—restructuring the whole national economy on the basis of the criteria of profitability and efficiency;

—eliminating bureaucratic methods of centralized economic management;

—promoting free initiative and competence in the management of all economic sectors;

—restructuring agriculture and supporting farmers' small-scale production;

—halting the destruction of villages;

—reorganizing Romanian education in accordance with present-day requirements;

—reestablishing educational structures on a democratic and humane bases;

—promoting a humane and democratic ideology and the genuine values of humanity;

—eliminating lies and pretense;

—establishing criteria of competence and justice in all areas of activity;

—placing the development of the national culture on new bases;

—freedom of press, radio, and television and their transition into the hands of the people;

—observing the rights and freedoms of national minorities and ensuring their full equality of rights with the Romanians;

—freedom of the cults, guaranteeing the free practice of religious creeds;

—organizing the whole trade of the country by proceeding on the basis of primarily meeting all the daily needs of the population in Romania. For this purpose, agricultural produce and foodstuffs will no longer be exported, and exports of oil products will be reduced by giving priority to meeting the people's heat and light requirements;

—saving the ecological balance and eliminating those projects and investments which damage the air, water, soil, and our country's forests;

—promoting modern and nonpolluting technologies.

The country's whole foreign policy will serve the promotion of good-neighborliness, friendship, and peace in the world by integrating itself into the process of forming a united Europe, a common house of all peoples on this continent.

Romania will honor its international commitments, especially those arising from the Warsaw Pact and from the Helsinki Accords.

In achieving its aim and implementing its program, the NSF decrees:

Article 1. The country's name is Romania. The country's form of government is a republic. The country's flag is the traditional tricolor, with the colors placed vertically in the following order beginning from the flagpole: blue, yellow, red [formerly red, yellow, blue].

Article 2. The NSF Council, as a body of power, has the following tasks:

a) It issues decrees with the power of law and decrees. These decrees will be adopted by a simple majority vote of the council members and will be published in the MONITORUL OFICIAL [formerly BULETINUL OFICIAL].

b) It appoints and removes the prime minister and approves the composition of the government upon the proposal of the prime minister.

c) It appoints and removes the president of the Supreme Justice Court and the general prosecutor of the Republic.

d) It regulates the electoral system.

e) It appoints the commission for the formulation of the new draft constitution.

f) It approves the state budget.

g) It institutes and awards decorations.

h) It awards the grades of general, admiral, and marshal, and retires and recalls them.

i) It grants pardons and commutes death sentences.

j) It ratifies and annuls international treaties.

k) It declares states of emergency, general or partial mobilizations, and states of war.

The Higher Military Council, which coordinates all of the activities of the Army and of the units taken over from the Ministry of Interior, operates in subordination to the NSF Council.

The Ministry of National Defense is the sole commander of the troops and combat equipment of our country.

The police bodies and firefighting units, which preserve all of their specific duties, will be directly subordinated to the NSF and to its local councils.

The name of militia changes to police.

Article 2. [number as heard] The Council of the NSF consists of 145 members. The Council directly elects, from among its members, an Executive Bureau, consisting of 11 members, as follows: The president of the Council, a first vice president, two vice presidents, a secretary, and six members. The Executive Bureau of the NSF Council exercises the Council's duties in the interval between its session.

Article 3. The NSF carries out its activity in sessions with the following specialized commissions: Commission for Reconstruction and Economic Development; Organizational Commission; Constitutional, Judicial, and Human Rights Commission; Commission for Youth Affairs; Foreign Policy Commission; Commission for Science and Education; Culture Commission; Commission for Environment and Ecological Balance; Commission for National Minorities; and Commission for Local Administration.

Article 4. The president of the NSF Council has the following prerogatives: representing the country in international relations; concluding international treaties; appointing and recalling Romania's ambassadors abroad; receiving accreditation and recalling credentials of diplomatic representatives of other states; granting Romanian citizenship, approving the renunciation of citizenship, and withdrawing Romanian citizenship; approving the establishment of residence in Romania by citizens of other states; granting right of asylum; approving the adoption of foreign minors by Romanian citizens and the adoption of minors, who are Romanian citizens, by foreigners.

Article 5. Local-administrative units—at the county, municipal, town, and communal level—will set up NSF councils, which are local power bodies hierarchically subordinated to the NSF Council.

Article 6. Local NSF councils will have the following composition: county and Bucharest Municipality councils will consist of 35-51 members; municipal councils, 15-27 members; town councils and councils of Bucharest Municipality sectors, 11-21 members; and communal councils, 9-15 members.

Local NSF councils will elect, from among their members, an Executive Bureau consisting of a president, two vice presidents, a secretary, and 3-5 members. The president of the council is also the president of the Executive Bureau.

Article 7. Local NSF councils are responsible, at a local level, for the organization and development of economic, trade, medicare, education, cultural, and administrative activities; for the safeguarding of the people's wealth; for the defense of civic rights; and for ensuring legality and maintaining public order in the territorial-administrative units in which they function.

In exerting their duties, the local councils will adopt decisions, by a simple majority of the votes of their members.

The local NSF councils will carry out their activity in sessions and in specialized commissions.

The apparatus of the executive committees and bureaus of the former people's councils, the apparatus of the local specialized bodies of state administration, and the apparatus of local social and cultural institutions will carry on their activity in their current structure.

Article 8. The number of personnel and the structure of the apparatus of the NSF Council will be established by its Executive Bureau.

Article 9. All power structures of the former dictatorial regime are now and shall remain dissolved.

Signed: The NSF Council.

Decree. The NSF Council decrees:

Article 1—Sergiu Celac is appointed minister of foreign affairs.

Article 2—Corneliu Bogdan is appointed minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Article 3—Constantin Oancea is appointed deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Signed by NSF Council President Ion Iliescu.

We now present the other decrees issued by the NSF Council.

Decree on establishment of the Ministry of National Economy.

The NSF Council decrees:

Sole Article—As of the date of the present decree, the Ministry of National Economy is established by reorganizing the State Committee for Planning and Technical Material Supply, which has been abolished.

The General Directorate of State Reserves will function within the Ministry of National Economy.

Decree. The NSF Council decrees:

Sole Article—Lieutenant General Atanasie Victor Stanculescu is released from the position of first deputy minister of national defense.

Decree. The NSF Council decrees:

Sole Article—Atanasie Victor Stanculescu is appointed minister of national economy.

Decree on establishment of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry.

The NSF Council decrees:

Article 1—As of the date of the present decree, the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry is established by reorganizing the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Food Industry, which have been abolished.

Article 2—Stefan Nicolae is appointed minister of agriculture and food industry.

Decree on establishment of the Ministry of Waters, Forestry, and Environment.

The NSF Council decrees:

Article 1—As of the date of the present decree, the Ministry of Waters, Forestry, and Environment is established by reorganizing the National Councils of Waters, the Ministry of Forestry, and the National Council for Environmental Protection, which have been abolished.

Article 2—Simion Frincu is appointed minister of waters, forestry, and environment.

The NSF Council decrees:

Article 1—Gheorghe Caranfil is appointed minister of chemical and petrochemical industry;

Article 2—Adrian Verdescu is appointed minister of electric power.

Decree on establishment of the Ministry of Culture.

The NSF Council decrees:

Article 1—As of the date of the present decree, the Ministry of Culture is established by reorganizing the Council for Socialist Culture and Education, which has been abolished.

Article 2—Andrei Plesu is appointed minister of culture.

Decree. The NSF Council decrees:

Sole Article—Mihail Draganescu and Gelu-Voican Voiculescu are appointed deputy prime ministers of the government.

Decree on establishing tariffs for electric power supplied to the people.

The NSF Council decrees:

Article 1—As of 1 January 1990, electric power quotas for public consumption are abolished. The sole price of electric power supplied to the public for lighting and public usage will be 65 bani per kiloWatt-hour.

Article 2—Provisions of Decree No 310/1988 on increasing monthly regulated consumption and reducing tariffs for electric power supplied to the people and provisions of Article 20, point 2, of Decree No 240/1982 on adopting measures for rational utilization and further reduction of the consumption of electric and thermal energy, natural gas, and other fuels are abrogated.

Article 3—The Ministry of National Economy and the Ministry of Finance will take steps to introduce appropriate modifications in the 1990 economic and financial indicators of the Ministry of Electric Power.

Decree on promotion of a Colonel General to the rank of army general post-mortem.

Sole Article—Colonel General Vasile Gheorghe Milea is promoted to the rank of army general post-mortem.

Decree on promotion of a colonel general to the rank of army general:

Sole Article. Colonel General Nicolae Militaru is promoted to the rank of army general.

Decree on promotion to next rank of certain generals and the granting of the rank of major general to certain colonels from the Ministry of National Defense:

Article 1. Lieutenant General Gheorghe Dumitru Logofatu is promoted to the rank of colonel general;

Article 2. The following are promoted to the rank of lieutenant general: Major General Dumitru Sterie Andreescu; Major General Marin Gheorghe Balteanu; Major General Dumitru Atanasie Banescu; Major General Nicolae Dumitru Pletos; Major General Verde Ion Popa; and Major General Dumitru Ilie Rosu;

Article 3. The rank of major general is granted to the following: Colonel Mircea Dimitrie Agachie; Colonel Vasile Cimbea; Colonel Constantin Stelian Cojocaru; Colonel Dumitru Grigore Dragin; Colonel Dumitru Paul-Remus Ghircoias; Colonel Constantin Gheorghe Grigorescu; Colonel Mihai Vasile Lungu; Colonel Petre Ion Nicolae; Colonel Ion Ghica Popa; Colone Nicolae Ion Popescu; Colonel Gheorghe Haralambie Popescu; Colonel Neculai Ion Rizea; Colonel Constantin Vasile Rozariu; Colonel Ion Andone Sandulescu; Colonel Gheorghe Eugen-Alexandru Tataru; Colonel Nicolae Constantin Tiroiu; Colonel Mihalache Ion Stoleru; Colonel Petre Petre Teaca; and Colonel Vasile Radu Vlasteanu;

Article 4. The rank of rear admiral is granted to Captain First Rank Alexandru Ion-Alex (Vladicesu).

Decree on promotion to the next rank of certain generals and the granting of the rank of major general to certain colonels from the Ministry of Interior:

Article 1. The following are promoted to the rank of lieutenant general: Major General Stan Gheorghe Danescu and Major General Toader Luis Marcus;

Article 2. The rank of major general is granted to the following: Colonel Vasile Anghelache Apostol; Colonel Gheroghe Dumitru Bostina; and Colonel Petre Ion Mihai Maricescu.

Decree on promotion to the next rank of certain generals and the granting of the rank of major general to a colonel from the Ministry of National Defense:

Article 1. Lieutenant General Atanasie Victor Stanculescu is promoted to the rank of colonel general;

Article 2. Major General Gheorghe Constantin Voinea is promoted to the rank of lieutenant general;

Article 3. Colonel Ilie Florea Rotaru is granted the rank of major general.

Decree on the release of a deputy minister:

Sole Article. Reserve Colonel General Stefan Vasile Ionel is released from the position as deputy minister of technical-material supply and management of fixed assets.

Decree on the recalling of certain generals to active units.

The NSF Council decrees:

Sole article: In accordance with the present decree, the following generals and rear-admirals are recalled to active service: Colonel General Stefan Vasile Ionel; Lieutenant General Paul Roman Keller; Lieutenant General Ion Jean Moldovan; Major General Gheorghe Marin Balteanu; Major General Bucur Ion Bordei; Major General Traian Liviu Ciubalcan; Rear-Admiral Gheorghe Nicolae Hirjau; Major General Traian Horia Opruta; Major General Nicolae Dumitru Pletos; and Major General Constantin Gheorghe Popescu.

Decree on promotion to the next grade of certain generals, and on granting the rank of major general to one colonel in the Ministry of Interior:

Article 1. The following personnel will be promoted to Colonel General: Lieutenant General Gheorghe Mihai Chitac; Lieutenant General Ioan Jean Moldovan.

Article 2. The rank of major general will be granted to Colonel Nicolae Dumitru Biclan.

Decree: The NSF Council decrees:

Article 1. Lieutenant General Mihai Chitac is appointed minister of interior.

Article 2. Major General Stefan Gusa is relieved of his position as first deputy minister of national defense and chief of staff.

Article 3. Colonel General Stefan Vasile Ionel is appointed first deputy minister of national defense and chief of staff.

Article 4. Lieutenant General Jean Moldovan is appointed deputy minister of interior and chief of the General Inspectorate of the Militia.

Decree: The NSF Council decrees:

Sole article. Aurel Dragos Munteanu is appointed chairman of the Romanian Radio Television Station

April Elections Confirmed

AU2912120789 Paris AFP in English 1202 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, Dec 29 (AFP)—Romania is to have a multi-party democracy and will respect its commitments to the Warsaw Pact, the governing National Salvation Front announced Friday.

Casimir Ionescu, the Front's vice-president, told a press conference that elections will take place as scheduled in April, and that the communist party can participate—assuming it still exists.

Will Retain Pact Ties

AU2812210289 Paris AFP in English 2052 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Paris, Dec 28 (AFP)—Romania's new Prime Minister Petre Roman said Thursday that Bucharest would retain its "traditional links" with the Warsaw Pact, while the opening to the West "flowed naturally" from old ties with other Latin nations.

Mr. Roman added, in an interview on French television, that the "question of East or West orientation" did not come up in a telephone conversation on Wednesday between interim President Ion Iliescu and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

"You know that we Romanians are most attached to the Latin nations, France foremost, Spain and Italy, so this opening flows naturally, but we will also keep our traditional links within the Warsaw Pact," he told the La Cinq network.

In an interview in Bucharest, Mr. Roman, speaking in French, described the conversation between Mr. Iliescu and Mr. Gorbachev as "very warm."

"There was no question of East or West orientation," he added. "We have already made that clear in our government programme."

In a separate interview on French TV channel Antenne 2, Mr. Roman said he had attended the demonstration by young people overnight last Thursday which led to the fall of the dictator Nicolae Ceausescu.

"The revolutionary movement was the work of the youth," he said. "I was among them ... At least 80 per cent of the demonstrators were young people.

"There was no organization, it was a spontaneous movement. So it's their revolution."

Mr. Roman added that he "had no idea" how he finished up addressing the crowd after Mr. Ceausescu fled when a planned demonstration of support in Bucharest Friday turned against him.

"I was pushed up" to the stand, he explained. "Somebody said: 'It's a professor from the university.' It was scarcely 10 minutes after Ceausescu flew off in his helicopter and I arrived at the rostrum.

"But what I want to stress now is that the day this movement is taken over by anybody or any political force, I won't be there any more."

Two Deputy Prime Ministers Appointed

AU2812190989 Paris AFP in English 1859 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, Dec 28 (AFP)—Romania's provisional government Thursday named two deputy prime ministers, Gelu Voican and Mihai Draganescu, an AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE correspondent reported.

Mr. Voican, a mining engineer, played a prominent role in the defence of the television station after the fall Friday of dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, when it was attacked by snipers of Ceausescu's Securitate secret police.

Mr. Draganescu, also appointed by the National Salvation Front Council, is a polytechnic institute professor, like new prime minister Petre Roman named Tuesday.

Gusa Removed

AU2912140489 Paris AFP in English 1300 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Bucharest, Dec 29 (AFP)—Stefan Gusa, chief of staff of the Romanian Armed Forces, has been fired from his military post and from the new interim government for reasons "of extreme gravity", informed sources said Friday. No further details on the reasons for his sacking were available. [passage omitted]

Monopolization To Be Corrected

AU2912013689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0017 GMT 29 Dec 89

["Statement by Academician Caius Iacob"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 28/12/1989—The dissolution in 1947, of the historical parties of Romania, the imprisonment of the great champion of parliamentary democracy, Iuliu Maniu, and of other political leaders like Ion Mihalache, Constantin I.C. Bratianu, Titel Petrescu, George Bratianu and many others, the monopolization of power by only one party which did not accept to be criticized was the beginning of an odious dictatorship system and the chief springboard wherefrom it was launched, Academician Caius Iacob writes in an article run by tne newspaper "ADEVARUL" in its 28 December issue.

Thy system of a single party, so noxious owing to its way of organization also set up in the neighbour countries, generated monsters like Stalin, Brezhnev, Kadar, Honecker, Husak, Zhivkov who took lifelong power, he shows. The same system generated the Ceausescu dictatorship with us, which went beyond any fancible limits.

Showing that the endless abuses, the arbitrary regime, a regime that humiliated the people that was compelled to eulogize the tyrant, the numberless autocratic actions of Ceausescu's clique put an end to the nation's patience, Academician Caius Iacob points to the people's force and dignity in front of bayonets, machine guns and tanks that made the national Army join them and cooperate together to crush an abject regime.

The National Salvation Front Council is confronted with exceptionally important tasks for the reestablishment of parliamentary democracy in Romania and the organization of the first free elections in the last 50 years, he shows urging for the recovery of the economy and education, for the creation of conditions for the cultural and scientific life to develop normally again. Academician Caius Iacob calls on outstanding personalities, on men of letters, and scientists who were compelled to leave their country in the last twenty years to come back home and help Romania's rebuilding.

Born in 1912, mathematician Caius Iacob is expert in the mechanics of fluids, mathematical analysis, motions

at high subsonic and supersonic speeds, a.o. His principal work is "Mathematical Introduction Into the Mechanics of Fluids".

Tasks of Committees, Councils

AU2912082489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0243 GMT 29 Dec 89

["Mihail Montanu's Televised Statement"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 28/12/1989—Asked during a television broadcast what the hot spots of the time are, what is important now, Mihail Montanu, chairman of the Organizational Commission under the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council, specified that committees and councils of the National Salvation Front had already been set up in each enterprise and institution at the level of each county, municipality, town and commune, therefore in all the organizational structures.

Their major task is to mobilize all Romanians to real work, to intelligent activity. Each one at one's work place must function so as everything in one's charge should operate normally. This is the principal target of the present. Mihail Montanu said that the administrative, organizational structures at the level of each enterprise should function alongside the National Salvation Front Committees.

The organizational, administrative structures must function and must not be dissipated. Changing the content of various activities we must let, for the time being, the existing forms operate at the level of institutions, of enterprises.

Imagine what chaos it would be if all these administrative infrastructures would dissolve chaotically. Certainly, the Political Platform of the National Salvation Front also stipulates the reorganization of our entire activity, on scientific, free, democratic bases. So, for the time being we appeal to reason, for joint collaboration between the organizational, administrative structures at the level of each enterprise and the National Salvation Front Committees and Councils.

As a matter of fact, the first measures undertaken are illustrative of what I tell you now: the abrogation of that series of absolutely insane and antipopular laws, the improvement of supply with consumer goods and foodstuffs. We request the people's confidence in the National Salvation Front Council. Let us not turn the revolution into disorder. This is the chief political goal the whole people should subscribe to, Mihail Montanu said in conclusion.

Meeting Results Summarized

AU2912063889 Paris AFP in English 0313 GMT 29 Dec 89

[By AFP correspondents Richard Uztarroz and Michel Castex: "Debate on Multi-party System Launched in Romania"]

[Text] Bucharest, Dec 29 (AFP)—The crucial issue of institution of a multi-party system in Romania following the fall of the Ceausescu dictatorship dominated the first plenary meeting of the National Salvation Front Council, revealing some initial divisions within it.

An informed source said that at the very start of the meeting on Wednesday, debate immediately focused on the basic issue: should the country shift at once to a multi-party system allowing creation of fully autonomous parties, or should variety be limited to permitting various trends within the Front Council itself?

The source said this discussion explained the length of the plenary meeting, which continued all day Thursday and brought a series of decrees Thursday evening giving the Front extensive powers over political and economic life.

Before those decrees were issued, it was already clear that the Front's effort to fill the political vacuum resulting from the Ceausescu regime's fall was running into heavy weather. After all, the country's whole future is at stake, as well as the future of some Council leaders, including current president Ion Iliescu—reproached by some for his membership in the Communist Party.

On Thursday, a widely-noticed article in the newspaper Adaverul by Academician Caius Jacob took a favorable view of the National Salvation Front Council, but stigmatized a monopoly on power for a single party. He said that "such monopoly gave rise to a system that produced dictatorships and generated such monsters as Stalin, Brezhnev, Honecker and Kadar—and in Romania, the Ceausescu dictatorship, which was worse than anything one might have imagined".

He found that the Council "is confronted by the unusually important task of organizing the first free elections in 50 years, and a return to parliamentary democracy in the country".

These early differences illustrate the heterogeneous nature of the Council, which groups former Communist officials and a few real dissidents, such as Doina Cornea. Some observers say that this absence of consensus on such a vital subject already points to the difficulties the new power structure will have in resolving problems born of 25 years of dictatorship.

The only positive point in all this is that the specter of destabilization of the country by the bitter-enders of the Securitate (the fallen regime's political police) seems to have faded out. On Thursday, the authorities reported

surrenders of some Securitate members after establishment of special military courts to try them if they did not turn themselves in by 1500 GMT Thursday.

The new authorities have insisted on their wish to avoid any witch-hunts and bloody reprisals, and they have even promised that the judges will show indulgence for "terrorists" denouncing their accomplices.

One essential point remains: getting the economy back in gear, and—the priority of priorities—basic supplies for the population.

The new authorities have revealed some startling discrepancies between the former regime's figures on farm output and reality. The wheat yield is only 3,300 kilograms per hectare, against the 8,160 kg announced by the Ceausescu regime. The corn yield is only 2,102 kg per hectare, against 16,500 reported by the old regime. Potatoes are actually at 14,137 kg per hectare, against 82,296 kg.

Early in the revolution, Bucharest shops were quickly stocked with supplies taken from reserves intended for Ceausescu apparatchiks. Various steps were taken to ease the food supply problem, the most important one being a halt to exports of farm products.

But officials do not conceal the fact that it will be hard to maintain sufficient supplies until the next harvest, and that marked shortages would entail political risks for the new regime.

Army Will 'Probably' Accept Any Government

AU2812220289 Vienna Television Service in German 2115 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Report by Klaus Edlinger on interview with Romanian Major General Gheorghe Popescu, military commander of Timisoara District, in Timisoara on 28 December—recorded]

[Text] According to Major General Gheorghe Popescu, military commander of Timisoara District, hundreds of Securitate members surrendered today and handed in their weapons. He is the man under whose direction the Army decided in favor of the people and against the Ceausescu regime at the beginning of the revolution.

At the moment, the Army is the only force of order in Timisoara and in Romania; it has discovered a new role. Will it subordinate itself to any freely elected government? Probably, Popescu says. I pressed him by asking: Probably or certainly? He repeats: Probably.

Council Urges 'Last Terrorists' To Surrender

AU2912103289 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] We will now transmit an announcement on behalf of the Higher Military Council:

Empowered by the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF], the Higher Military Council informs all our people of the following:

The Army, along with the patriotic guards and forces in charge of order, with workers in enterprises and institutions, and with our heroic youth, fully controls the situation in all areas and localities in our country.

In Bucharest, as well as in the other municipalities, cities, and communes, the situation has returned to normal.

There have been very isolated hostile incidents because of the last irresponsible terrorist elements who have not yet responded to the deadline of the provisions of the NSF communique isued on 26 December of this year.

Although most of the terrorist elements have surrendered, have been killed, or captured, there are still some fanatic individuals who continue committing criminal acts against peaceful people, military and economic targets.

The extraordinary tribunals in Bucharest and in the country's counties have carried out their activity in keeping with tasks put forward and will continue to try all cases of terrorist acts.

For the last time, we appeal to all those who have not yet responded to the NSF communique of 26 December, to understand that by surrendering on their own free will they will benefit from the extenuating circumstances stipulated by law, while those who will recklessly and irrationally continue to commit crimes will be tried and sentenced in accordance with urgent procedures.

Citizens of free Romania, have full confidence in the capability and strength of the Army. The Army has been and remains the people's Army, it is at the side of the people and, together with them, it is participating and will directly participate in establishing tranquillity and calm, and in normalizing the whole economic and social activity of our country.

Long live free and democratic Romania.

Plot Against Leaders; Securitate Surrender

AU2912125789 Paris AFP in English 1237 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, Dec 29 (AFP)—Romania is to have a multiparty democracy but it will respect its commitments to the Warsaw Pact, the National Salvation Front government announced here Friday.

Casimir Ionescu, the Front's vice-chairman and government spokesman, told a press conference that elections would take place as scheduled in April, and that the Communist Party will take part - - assuming it still exists.

"In fact, the Romanian Communist Party no longer exists, so many of its former members have handed in their cards over the past few days", he said.

He refused to say how many former communists had been given jobs in the new administration. Under the old regime, communist party membership was essential to hold any post of responsibility.

Mr. Ionescu said the competence of individuals was more important than whether they had belonged to the Communist party in the past.

He ruled out any possibility of a counter-coup by Ceausescu loyalists, although he did not exclude the likelihood of isolated actions.

He also said a plan by loyalists to assassinate the country's new leaders had been uncovered, but gave no details.

He also confirmed that several hundred Securitate secret policemen had surrendered before the Thursday deadline set by the Front, which warned that those who did not give themselves up would face the firing squad.

Prime Minister Discusses Immediate Tasks

AU2812221389 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Interview with Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman by Romanian Television in Bucharest on 28 December—recorded]

[Text] [Moderator] [Words indistinct]

[Roman] The goal of our work is to keep our word, and especially for me to keep my word, and to try to restore our economy, industry, and production processes to normal operations.

We have nominated a number of ministers, but this is not the most important accomplishment. The important undertaking has to do with the information we have received in connection with our potential, with the potential of our economy to cope with a disjointed economic mechanism, with the exceptional state that we have experienced these days; the wild abandon, in fact, which we were obliged to have because of the terrorist activity by the former regime.

[Moderator] However, there is a lot of good news.

[Roman] There is good news, but this news is the kind that is spreading [word indistinct] on the surface. Real good news is the kind that accumulates in the depth of economic structures and mechanisms.

I can say that in general—examining the situation in various sectors of industrial and economic activity—we are now able to cope with the situation, in the sense of restoring the operation of these activities. Certainly it will be done on a completely different basis—primarily the style and method of day-to-day management of what is the political power in Romania today.

Our basic obligation is to rid ourselves of the robotization and automation to which the odious dictator subjected us for such a long time. We have to rid ourselves of any set-ups. Our life and thoughts are completely new. We have to have dialogue. And, of course, the young people, who have conducted this revolution, have to be present and so do the management bodies—maybe not at the highest level—because, no doubt, competence is not a thing that is gained immediately; they do have to be present there so that, as of today, we can ensure the future.

[Moderator] With these optimistic thoughts, please permit me to express my appreciation for the interview you have granted to Romanian television.

[Roman] I want to express my appreciation. I am glad that I have come, because this helps. I also want to tell you that among other things I have today signed a decree, which was necessary and undoubtedly just, on reducing the price per KW hour from the [word indistinct] figure of Ceausescu to a normal price of 65 bani per KW hour.

[Moderator] Thank you.

TV Addresses of Front Council Members Reported

AU2712211689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1828 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Dialogue Over the Free Romanian Television"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/12/1989—Participating in a broadcast over the free Romanian Television where she referred to developments in Romania, Mrs Doina Cornea, member of the Council of the National Salvation Front, praised the youth who fought for overthrowing the dictatorship, for the ideal of freedom and democracy.

The miracle worked by these young people, she said, is not a victory of weapons against weapons, but a victory of the mind against blind power. They have defended a country. We, who have not fought, who have done nothing for years, tens of years, have at least the sacred duty to defend the rights and freedoms which these children have won at the cost of their life and blood. Their sacrifice obliges us now to a radical change of behaviour, to a radical change of our petrified mental forms. Every moral error we will do will be a new moral bullet we shoot at these youth. We no longer have the mean right to fear, to cowardice, to compromise and to being trapped by various manoeuvres that still are a pressure on us. All these would be thus acts of abdication and of treason toward those who have died, toward those who suffer in hospital, saying that we live through very difficult moments, that we are threatened by chaos—the situation being difficult and confused as is after any overthrow—Mrs Cornea insisted that we must not cease defending what the youth have conquered.

I want to urge to courage against fear, Mrs Cornea said, showing: What is very, very important at this time is that we should be united, that we achieve first of all spiritual unity around all pure and honest forces. The youth need people to believe in and to love. I also urge calm. The Council of the National Salvation Front has proposed a program that promises us democracy and it needs calm to carry it into effect.

The young people who have paid with their life and blood the overthrow of the dictatorship must be a model of courage, spiritual purity, love, she added.

Mrs. Cornea also thanked the Western governments, the nations and millions of citizens in the West who have supported us.

Professor Dumitru Mazilu, expert in international affairs, recently elected first vice-president of the Council of the National Salvation Front, showed inter alia:

All of us are, and will for a long time to come, living with the overwhelming emotion of these days that are unique in modern Romania's history and maybe, in a way, also in Europe's history. This people that was considered too mild and too patient has proved not only that it deserves its place under the sun and not in darkness, but also that it does have the necessary force, and I am sure of it, to settle very rapidly the complicated situations left by the terrible oppression and squeezing it was subject to for decades on end. I am fully confident in this material and moral recovery.

In the same broadcast, known diplomat, journalist and politologist Silviu Brucan, member of the Council of the National Salvation Front, made a string of considerations on the Romanian youth's role in these days' developments: I think, he said, that our revolution had a distinct character, different from what has recently happened in East Europe: Our revolution was essentially and prevailingly a revolution of the youth.

Assessing that a number of instances of opportunism are recorded now from people who have neither the moral standing nor the political authority to speak in the name of the revolution, Mr. Brucan said: Honest people in this country must come to the fore. No matter whether they carried on a political activity in the past or not, the honest people must come to the fore, for, unfortunately there are many that keep reserve and leave free way to opportunist elements that have already insinuated themselves in all kind of local bodies of the National Salvation Front, that have already installed themselves in posts. The honest people must [words indistinct] front line of the battle for democracy. We must do democracy with decent people, not with slippery and time-serving ones.

Local NSF Official Offered Deputy Chairmanship

LD2812215489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Csaba Boejte, editor in chief of ERDELYI TUDOSITAS [Transylvanian dispatch], reports on the news of Tirgu Mures:

[Boejte] In Tirgu Mures the situation is calm, balanced. The factories are working and the newly formed National Salvation Front [NSF] has the situation completely under control. The formation of youth organizations has begun. Tonight five youth organizations—Romanians, Magyars—joined a common platform.

Karoly Kiraly, the Maros county chairman of the NSF, has traveled to Bucharest to negotiate with Ion Iliescu, chairman of the NSF, because today Iliescu offered Kiraly the deputy chairmanship of the NSF and the portfolio of nationality affairs.

Establishment of Ecological Movement

AU2712225789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1856 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/12/1989—The setting up of the Romanian Ecologist Movement with the motto "a clean man in a clean country and a clean world" has been announced over the Romanian radio stations.

The effects of these few decades' industrial gigantomania [as received]—the radioed message of the mission shows—are tragically felt. It is stressed that the policy of the movement is the struggle against any kind of pollution, but first of all against moral pollution. The movement welcomes the Council of the National Salvation Front, identifying itself with the Council's actions, subordinating its activity to the values of freedom, democracy and peace, to Romania's revival.

Committee of Free Trade Unions Established

AU2712174989 Paris AFP in English 1736 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, Dec 27 (AFP)—A provisional committee of free trade unions in Romania was officially set up Wednesday, and spelled out its demands on television.

The committee notably called for the setting up of independent unions for the first time in decades of communist rule, as well as the right to strike and to organise.

Platform Established

AU2912073889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2340 GMT 28 Dec 89

["Setting up of Provisional Committee of Organization of Free Trade Unions of Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 28/12/1989—The setting up has been announced in Bucharest, of the Provisional Committee of Organization of the Free Trade Unions in Romania, that espouses and supports to the full the program of the Council of the National Salvation Front and campaigns for the attainment of the targets included in this document.

The program-platform of the Provisional Committee stipulates the organization of the trade unions based on really free elections, that should defend and secure the fundamental rights of workers, intellectuals and the other social categories. Stipulated are also the protection of the social rights of trade union members the right to work and rest, to instruction, social and medical assistance, labour protection and hygiene, and observance of women's rights.

Likewise, the free trade unions campaign for the right to have their own publishing house and press organs.

Committee To Control Domestic Commerce Established

AU2712160489 Paris AFP in English 1536 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Bucharest, Dec 27 (AFP)—Romania's new ruling National Salvation Front (NSF) has mobilized food supplies around the country to prevent shortages from hitting the capital, Bucharest radio said Wednesday.

Nine hundred rail wagons packed with food products from around the country were heading for the Cinluita train station on the capital's outskirts, according to the report. [passage omitted]

Informed sources, meanwhile, said a committee to control domestic commerce was also set up Wednesday to organize food deliveries to other Romanian towns and cities.

Paul Nicolescu-Mizil, a communist and former opponent of Mr. Ceausescu, was named to head the committee, the sources said. He was known as one of the architects of Romania's independent stance in relations with Moscow.

In related developments, Romanian truckers carrying 60 tonnes of pork destined for a Rome company are refusing to deliver the food.

They had already crossed into Italian territory when they learned that the Ceausescu regime had fallen. They immediately turned back to the Yugoslav border to await instructions from the new government.

Under the old regime, Romania exported as much as 70 per cent of its food products to the Soviet Union alone in exchange for gas and electricity.

Magyar Democratic Union Executive Committee

AU2812223189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 28 Dec 89

["Provisional Central Bureau of the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania Set Up"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/12/1989—A provisional Central Bureau of the Provisional Executive Committee of the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania was set up in Bucharest on 27 December 1989. The attendance listened to and debated an account read by Domokos Geza of the Union's current tasks, and set up its working commissions.

The local—communal, town, county—organizations of the Union, Domokos Geza said inter alia, must pass on to organizing activities on the basis of the principles contained in the Union's proclamation. They should focus on the active support by the Hungarians in Romania to the priority goals stipulated by the programme of the National Salvation Front Council, namely the consolidation of the democracy won through the people's revolution and the resumption of a normal, peaceful life. He urged that the Union's organizations be set up according to local initiatives, on democratic bases, and so be the election of organs and the advance of proposals for the composition of the Provisional Executive Committee, as well as that contacts with other democratic organizations be established as soon as possible, with which the Union should collaborate for the consolidation of unity round the National Salvation Front.

We welcome and back all the items enshrined in the programme of the newly founded organizations which bear the print of brotherhood and equality, thus offering opportunities for a common, solidarity action, for democratic cooperation, for concrete deeds and initiatives with a view to attaining the goals of our proclamation, Domokos Geza pointed out. He also called on these organizations to favourably answer the appeals for cooperation made by the Organization of the Magyar Minority in Romania.

The participants in the meeting stated that our Union categorically condemned any extremist action, any act of violence committed by reckless, irresponsible elements, urging all our co- nationals to prevent the attempts at deliberately disturbing the advance of democracy, causing damage to the fraternal solidarity between the Romanian people and the Magyar minority in Romania, by disseminating false rumours and calumnies for diversionist purposes included, the speaker also said, calling on the Union's organizations to condemn such attempts and to do so as they may not attain their aim, and to thwart them. Let us ever remember that the people's revolution which led to making a free Romania started in Timisoara through that human wall the Magyars, Romanians, Germans and Serbians formed hand in hand around Reformed Pastor Laszlo Tokes, Domokos Geza said in conclusion.

Former Peasant Party Leader on Party's Stands

AU2812170689 Paris AFP in English 1633 GMT 28 Dec 89

[By Marie-France Osenda]

[Excerpts] Bucharest, Dec 28 (AFP)—Corneliu Coposu, 74, has a dream: to revive from near obscurity one of the most important political parties of Romania's pre-communist era, the National Peasant Party. [passage omitted]

Mr. Coposu speaks proudly and emotionally of the "two million members" who made up the National Peasant Party in 1947. That was the year the Communists dissolved it and threw Mr. Coposu, then the party's 32-year-old deputy secretary general, into jail. But with the former dictator now executed and free elections scheduled for April, the elderly militant and his friends dream of gathering enough supporters to present a candidate. Despite their advanced years, they believe they are still known to young people whose parents may have told them about Romania's pre-communist era. Many young people have telephoned with questions about their programme.

Sitting in a dining room, the 10 or so dignified gentlemen, some of whom speak perfect French, try to organize. They are starting from nothing: no party headquarters, no equipment, and only one old typewriter to type out laboriously as many copies of their programme as are needed.

The militants say their party stands for "a market economy, a mixed economy along French lines, and returning the peasants' land". They also want "democracy without a trace of communism", and consider themselves "left of centre" but would not rule out the return of King Michael I—now living in Switzerland—to take up a position similar to that of Spain's King Juan Carlos. They are confident the party will revive and hope to hold its first congress before the elections.

Further on Status of Fighting, Securitate

Situation Returning to Normal

AU2812132089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1959 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/12/1989—Relevant factors have passed to the Romanian press information showing that the situation is about to return to normal throughout the national territory. The national grid runs normally. Central heating ensures a permanent 20 degrees celsius temperature in homes, which Romanians have not enjoyed for 25 years.

The National Council for water resources hourly informs citizens of the quality of water, which is good throughout the country.

A special command set up in the capital city has taken emergency measures already being applied with a view to properly supplying the population. Milk, meat, cheese, meat preparations without soy beans (so far the raw material for salami), flour, sugar, oil, candies and, as an absolute premiere, genuine coffee, oranges and other products, find their way to the shops.

TAROM Airlines inform people that they have planes ready for domestic and international flights. Good news comes from the Bucharest Transport Enterprise (ITB) as they work to reopen various routes.

The Ministry of Health announces people that medical staff hold the situation under control. At Bucharest, Sibiu, Brasov, Timisoara, towns whose medical networks have been resorted to most intensely, hospitals are apt to povide due assistance, yet medicines are in short supply.

The situation also returns to normal in the country's enterprises. Almost all the units in Bucharest operate as usual. People work in the factories of Brasov, and at Sibiu the collectivities of the representative units do their job.

'Heavy Fighting' at Party Building

LD2812152289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Report by Bucharest correspondent Jozsef Orosz]

[Excerpt] While life in Bucharest could be described as generally peaceful, not long ago I received the news that there has been further heavy fighting in the building of the party headquarters. The number of deaths is not yet known, but it appears certain that there still are a large number of Securitate men in the network of underground passages under the building. [passage omitted]

Further Shooting in Bucharest

LD2812232889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2300 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] In the evening hours there has again been shooting in Bucharest, in the area of the party headquarters and television station. The Army responded with heavy firing against the shots fired by the Securitate. In response to the appeal by the new Romanian leadership, numerous members of the secret [service] have handed in their weapons, but there still are no precise figures.

In the meantime, the leadership of the Democratic Union of Magyars in Romania, chaired by Geza Domokos, discussed organizational issues. The Romanian Writers Union, which has been formed anew, has appointed Bela Marko editor in chief of IGAZ SZO [Word of Truth], which is published in Tirgua Mures, and Istvan Szilagyi to head the Cluj publication UTUNK.

Securitate Activities

LD2812180389 Budapest MTI in English 1649 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, December 28 (MTI)—While fighting is coming to an end also in the outlying districts of Bucharest, and reports arrive about normal production in all units, Securitate units endeavour to cause disorder, and instill fear, in several parts of the country, by spreading provocative rumours.

These include that university professors of Kolozsvar (Cluj-Napoca) received telephone calls in the noon hours on Thursday. The unknown callers, using the name of the Kolozsvar Committee of the Hungarian Democratic Federation, ask the professors to meet in the University building at 5 p.m., for the declaration of the 'Bolyai University'. The report is completely unfounded.

The Hungarian Democratic Federation of Romania distances itself from these actions. Bucharest radio is carrying appeals in Romanian, Hungarian and German, warning people from not to believe such "vile underground organization efforts". The Hungarian Democratic Federation of Romania has not initiated such action, and the population should believe only appeals which are officially made public by the National Salvation Front Council on Romanian television.

More on Ceausescu's Last Days, Attempted Escape

Moscow Denied Airspace Access

AU2412090089 Paris AFP in English 0843 GMT 24 Dec 89

[Text] Paris, Dec 24 (AFP)—Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu was unable to flee the country after his overthrow because Soviet authorities refused to allow his aircraft to fly through Soviet airspace on his way to China, a French radio station said Sunday.

But in Moscow, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told Agence France-Presse that the report was based on "groundless rumours".

France-Info, quoting a source described as a former Romanian intelligence officer, said that Mr. Ceausescu and his wife Elena had managed to take off from a runway situated 10 kilometres (six miles) from the capital.

He reached the aerodrome via a secret passageway leading from the presidential palace, the source said.

But once in the air, the Soviet Union reportedly refused to permit the plane to overfly Soviet territory. The plane then landed at Tirgoviste airport some 70 kilometres (44 miles) northwest of the capital.

The couple's arrest in Tirgoviste was first announced Friday, and confirmed on Saturday after two denials.

France-Info said that the denials of the Ceausescu arrest were issued to prevent an attempt by his supporters to rescue him.

Flight From Bucharest

AU2812144389 Paris AFP in English 1151 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, Dec 28 (AFP)—Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu were captured after hijacking a private car and fleeing across country when their helicopter was ordered to land by air force officials, the press reported here Thursday.

The ousted Romanian dictator and his wife had hoped to fly to Olt, Mr.Ceausescu's native region in the south of the country.

But their escape was foiled when the crew of the presidential helicopter received a radio command ordering them to land, the ROMANIA LIBERA newspaper said.

The helicopter had taken off at 12:15 p.m. last Friday from the Communist Party Central Committee headquarters in central Bucharest.

On orders of the air force command, which had rallied to the insurgents led by the National Salvation Front, the crew landed the helicopter near the Bucharest-Pitesti motorway, about 40 kilometres (25 miles) from Bucharest, close to the town of Titu, the newspaper said.

The couple waved down a Dacia car, forcing its woman driver out, and set off along a side-road for an unknown destination. They were stopped later, recognised and arrested, said ROMANIA LIBERA.

Romania's new leader, Ion Iliescu, has indicated that the couple was arrested near the village of Tirgoviste, 70 kilometres (45 miles) Northwest of Bucharest.

The couple was given a summary trial by a military court Monday and executed afterwards.

Eyewitness Account of Last Days

LD2812151589 Budapest MTI in English 1308 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, December 28 (MTI)—How did Nicolae Ceausescu spend his last days? To answer the question, Otto Oltvanyi, the Bucharest correspondent of MTI, met with an eyewitness who had worked in the party headquarters 'until the last day'.

The eyewitness, who asked not to be named, said that on December 17, in the afternoon, Ceausescu convened a telephone conference with the leaders of the country. Some years ago, a separate network was established between the main centre in the headquarters of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Central Committee and the party committees of each country. The Securitate, the Army, the Ministry of the Interior and the militia were also included in the conference. Ceausescu said that

the Army headed by Milea had brought about the situation through hesitation and delay. The conference focussed on the complicated situation in Timisoara where action was being taken against the demonstrators. Ceausescu, as the commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces, ordered the opening of fire at the slightest provocation and the arrest of everyone who attacked the regime.

The minutes drawn up on the telephone conference was read by the eyewitness. On Monday, the dictator left for Iran. On Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday morning, the party and state affairs were directed by Elena Ceausescu, who took over power in every respect. Emil Bobu, Romania's number two, stayed in Timisoara and directed the massacres and actions from a hiding-place. A hot line was established between Elena Ceausescu in Bucharest and Nicolae Ceausescu in Tehran. The conducator returned from Iran at about 3 p.m. on Wednesday and instructed Constantin, Milea, Eugen, Florescu and Gheorghe Sprinteroiu to write a speech for him in an hour which he would read out at 7 p.m. on television. The speech was typed in large letters since the dictator was keen on reading unaided.

After the speech was read out, "supporting statements" arrived from the workers. The couple drove to their Lakeside Villa. Nicolae Ceausescu instructed his staff to organize a mass rally with the factory workers of Bucharest next morning to demonstrate that the people were behind him. The rally was duly organized but no one knew that the crowd was joined by university students. Two students smuggled two petards on the square.

After the preliminary speeches of factory delegates, Ceausescu took the floor. Shortly afterwards, the rally was interrupted by the detonation of the two petards (the eyewitness followed the events from an upstairs window of the party headquarters). Women were screaming and a group in the crowd dropped Nicolae's and Elena's pictures and the posters. TV screening was distorted but security forces restored order in three minutes and the rally continued. Elena whispered to the dictator "tell them something. Promise something."

Ceausescu promised pay increases, saying that the decision has been passed by the Political Executive Committee [PEC]. The statement was untrue since the PEC had not put such issue on its agenda. After the rally, the crowd started a revolutionary demonstration. Ceausescu was kept informed of the situation. By 6 p.m. he convened the leadership, gave instructions, and sharply attacked Milea for sabotage by the Army. County leaders were put on the alert. According to the eyewitness, Elena repeatedly interrupted the phone conversations, urging her husband to be more resolute. In the meantime, the party headquarters was surrounded by tanks and armed vehicles.

When the eyewitness entered the party headquarters the following day, a Securitate officer whispered to him "Milea is dead. He was shot." It is not yet known whether he was shot by Ceausescu himself or the secret police but the eyewitness has reliable information that the minister of defence did not committ suicide.

On the day of escape, the situation was disastrous around the Party Headquarters. According to the eyewitness, Ceausescu had a double for the "emergency". When the crowd broke the windows and entered the corridor of the general secretary, they were received by the double, who, hit by the stones, disappeared through a door. In the meantime, Ceausescu fled through an underground corridor built between the headquarters and the State Council. Although helicopters circled above the headquarters, the eyewitness is certain that the couple was not able to escape by air since there was no helicopter station on the top of the building. The general secretary's helicopter usually landed in a strictly guarded place in front of the Party Headquarters. On that occasion, the general secretary fled through the tunnels. The chase after Nicolae Ceausescu began when he emerged in a dacia car in Arges County.

UN Security Council Postpones Meeting on Romania

AU2712234989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2127 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] The UN Security Council has decided to postpone indefinitely its consultations on Romania. A group of four European countries (Austria, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, and Hungary), which the previous week had asked for an emergency meeting of the Security Council devoted to the situation in Romania, announced the forum [as received] that their request is now pointless as a result of the latest developments in Romania.

Ceausescu's 'Private' Roads Returned to Public Use

AU2712221989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1845 GMT 27 Dec 89

["Road 'Deprivatization'"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 27/12/1989—The Romanian radio announces that all the roads in Bucharest, including Calea Victoriei, dictator Ceausescu's "private road", where traffic used to be banned are now returning to normal use.

Customs Exemptions on Goods Entering Country

AU2712122289 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] In connection with the introduction into the country of certain goods, the Council of the National Salvation Front has decided the following:

1. Goods of any kind introduced into the country in any way by people will be exempt from customs duties. This

exemption also applies to goods that have arrived in our country and for which no customs had yet been charged due to the recent incidents.

Only the ban on introduction into the country of armaments, ammunition, explosive and radioactive substances, drugs and (?hypotrophic) and toxic substances will remain in force.

2. In connection with the introduction into the country of goods sent to juridical persons:

No customs will be charged for goods that have arrived in the country in the form of aid and donations, irrespective of whether the receiver is the Romanian state or a juridical personal named by the sender.

Goods sent in the form of aid to the Romanian people shall be sent to Bucharest to the customs office depot and placed at the disposal of the Council of the National Salvation Front.

Anti-Tokes Bishop Papp Disappears

AU2712182789 Paris AFP in English 1812 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Zurich, Switzerland, Dec 27 (AFP)—Monsignor Laslo Papp, the bishop who indirectly sparked the downfall of Nicolae Ceausescu by ordering the deportation of dissident minister Laszlo Tokes, has disappeared without a trace, the Reformed Church announced here Thursday.

Another evangelical reformist bishop, Gyula Nagy, has announced that he will relinquish his post in Cluj, the capital of the Transylvanian region, where Pastor Tokes, an ethnic Hungarian, had spoken out against the Ceausescu regime from his post at Timisoara.

Msgr. Papp, then bishop of Oradea in Northwest Romania, had charged that in being critical of Ceausescu and speaking out for human rights, Pastor Tokes was "manipulated from abroad". His attempt to deport the pastor led to massive demonstrations where security forces opened fire on crowds, sparking the Romanian uprising. [passage omitted]

New Special Issue of Weekly LUMEA

AU2712225389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1751 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/12/1989--The Romanian foreign affairs weekly LUMEA will henceforth come up as LUMEA AZI (THE WORLD TODAY).

In a message to readers, published in its special issue on December 27, the editorial staff of the review show that under the dictatorship they had to present the outside world through the lattice work obstacle imposed by a primitive thinking. At present, in this stage of completing the moral clearing, the message shows, the review has nothing more sacred than to serve the reader in the light of the truth.

The special issue presents to readers, under the generic "The Whole World Is With Us" news items, notes, information items from abroad, in which outstanding personalities of the international political life express their admiration for the Romanian revolution and recognize the new legal authority in Romania, the Council of the Front of National Salvation.

For the first time in 25 years the review gives excerpts from foreign press articles and commentaries that presented all the time the real image of the dull night of one quarter of a century in which the Romanian people lived. The issue carries excerpts from the U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT (the U.S.), LE POINT, LE FIGARO and LE MONDE (France), MAGYAR NEMZET (Hungary), THE ECONOMIST (Great Britain), PRAVDA (Czechoslovakia), DIE WELT (Federal Republic of Germany).

Farmers Pledge To Restructure Agriculture

AU2712232689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1844 GMT 27 Dec 89

["Motion"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 27/12/1989—Farmers and specialists in the field, who all these years have been forced to bear the caprice of the dictator's obstinate and arbitrary leadership, will use all their technical knowledge and energy in order to provide all the farm foods needed to properly supply the people, reads a motion sent by the committee of the National Salvation Front of the Ministry of Agriculture. Also expressed is the resolve to restructure the Romanian agriculture with a reconsideration of the part played by small peasant production.

Agricultural Data Falsifications Revealed

AU2812223989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1700 GMT 28 Dec 89

["'Record Crops'—Ceausescu's Whopping Lie"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/12/1989—The biggest and most harmful of all Ceausescu's lies were, inter alia, those concerning economic achievements. Everything possible was done in that area to cover up the truth, real figures being replaced with other, absurdly swollen ones, which the apparatus activists concocted and reported after they had been "trimmed" and "approved" in office number one.

That is exactly what happened with farm production. This year in particular, spurred by the mad race to "implement the provisions of the new agrarian revolution", the Ceausescu gang imposed on all farming units to report per-hectare average farm productions that,

instead of the crops that were truly harvested, reflected a "standard" the dictator himself established during his "working visits" or during his frequent teleconferences with the county apparatus. It is only now that, according to data supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture, we are in a position to know and make public the crops of the year "of the largest farm production ever in Romania's history", as Ceausescu put it in 1989, when he said more than 60 million tons of cereals had been harvested.

It is not true that the per-hectare average wheat and rye production was of 8,160 kgs. The real figure is 2.5 times lower—3,170. It is not true that the per-hectare average corn grains production was of 16,500 kgs. The reality in this area is terrible since, owing to the drought in the latter half of the year, real production was over eight times lower—1,913 kgs. There is so little maize in the country's granaries that the livestock—which is scarce already—will have to be slaughtered unless contracts on maize loans from neighbouring and friendly countries are concluded as soon as possible.

The same holds true for the other "record productions"—the average sun flower production was of 1,801 kgs instead of the reported figure of 5,685 kgs, sugar beet 2,475 instead of 100,001 kgs, potatoes 14,134 instead of 81,296 kgs.

Therefore, Romania's total cereal production this year amounts to only 18,230 million tons, that is more than four times lower than the "production put on paper" by Ceausescu's clan and apparatus.

Bacau Mill 'Criminal Unit' Stopped

AU2812165789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1515 GMT 28 Dec 89

["Criminal Unit Grinds To A Halt"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/12/1989—A production unit built on the instructions of Romania's strongman Nicolae Ceausescu has stopped operating at the Bacau Dairy Mill. The unit made milk out of soybean: not only was the product not nourishing, but it was downright harmful. It had been delivered to the market, in defiance of the Ministry of Health's position against its use.

Hungarian Expert on Securitate Resources

AU2812145189 Paris AFP in English 1138 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Vienna, Dec 28 (AFP)—Ceausescu loyalists in the Securitate police force, have enough munitions and logistical resources to be able to resist the new regime for many more weeks, even months, a Hungarian military expert with good contacts in Romania said Thursday.

Colonel Tibor Koszegvary, leader of the Miklos Zrinyi military academy, said members of the Securitate were selected for their toughness and endurance and demonstrated SS-like allegiance to Mr. Ceausescu.

Within the Securitate there existed a hardcore of some 2,000 men, superlatively trained in the use of sophisticated weaponry, guerrilla warfare and survival techniques.

Col. Koszevgary said the only way the Romanian Army could defeat them would be to destroy their caches of food and weapons hidden all over the country.

He said the Black Sea represented the only potential escape route for Securitate agents hoping to shoot their way to freedom.

Part of the former elite police force is believed to be hiding out in the Carpathian mountains although precise information is hard to come by.

According to Romanian intelligence agents who have defected to the West, the Securitate is made up of between 20,000 and 50,000 agents, plus about 100,000 auxiliaries.

The Securitate is divided into 17 battalions each equipped with the most modern weapons, armoured vehicles and helicopters. The 170,000-strong Romanian Army, though bigger numerically, is ill-equipped and poorly trained by comparison.

According to the Hungarian defence ministry, helicopters piloted by Securitate fugitives, have violated Hungarian airspace several times in the past few days from secret bases near the Hungarian border.

The Securitate is known to have at least two large bases at Sibiu and Brasov in Transylvania, the heartland of the Hungarian ethnic minority, which Mr. Ceausescu always treated with suspicion.

According to some sources, one of these bases was used to train and fanaticise 6,000 young orphans to turn them into mindless killers for the Securitate.

Arab League Contacts New Romanian Government

AU2812235689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2001 GMT 28 Dec 89

["Arab Contacts With the New Romanian Government"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Tunis, AGERPRES, 28/12/1989—The Arab League currently undertakes direct contacts with the new Romanian Government regarding the campaign started in some states against the Arabs to the end of upsetting Romanian-Arab relations.

Adnan Omran [name as received], deputy secretary-general of the organization, had an interview with the chief of the Romanian diplomatic mission in Tunis in order to explain to the latter the purposes and interests concealed behind that campaign. Adnan Omran also told

the Romanian ambassador that the new changes in Romania were observed by the Arab governments because those changes were started by the Romanian people themselves.

Press Center for Information Established 29 Dec

AU2812235889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2232 GMT 28 Dec 89

["Announcement"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/12/1989—The Council of the National Salvation Front of Romania announces through AGERPRES that a press centre for the information of the foreign press representatives will be set up on December 29, 1989 at the Hotel Intercontinental in Bucharest.

As of December 29 the foreign press representatives are invited to apply to that press centre.

Prisoners Reportedly Dosed With Radiation

AU2812224889 Vienna Television Service in German 2115 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Interview with Ortwin Schuster, representative of the FRG Association of Transylvanian Saxons, by ORF journalist Klaus Furtner on 28 December—recorded; place not given]

[Text] [Schuster] I first heard of the rumors about medical experiments with radiation at the beginning of the 1980's. An emigre doctor came to me and told me that he himself had read a secret study about the effects of overdoses of radioactive radiation on human beings.

A second report arrived sometime during the past 5 years. Then rumors became increasingly frequent that such radiation experiments were being conducted on prisoners, in particular on political prisoners. About 6 to 8 weeks ago more specifics regarding this matter became known, when a Hungarian women who had fled from Transylvania reported that she had been in the women's prison near Sibiu, between Talmes and Heltau, together with another woman and that her fellow-prisoner had been subjected to such radiation.

The interesting thing is that when this women felt tired and exhausted and generally sick, she was released and shortly afterwards died. The family was a bit surprised that their daughter died so quickly without any visible reason, and requested an autopsy. In Romania it is still customary for the dead to lie in state at home until the funeral.

During the autopsy on this body, a pathologist found two very interesting phenomena:

First, all internal organs were completely corroded, as I was told. Second—I am not a doctor, I cannot appreciate this information, but doctors here confirmed that the second phenomenon, namely so-called flaky blood, is due to the person in question having been subjected to an overdose of radiation.

The third phenomenon, which made me collate these indications and turn to the public with this report, was that in Temesvar [Timisoara] prisoners and the demonstrators, injured demonstrators, were reportedly subjected to X-rays for minutes without any protection. A doctor who refused to do this in the hospital of Temesvar was shot dead by Securitate members.

[Furtner] How can it be explained that in Romania there were relatively few political prisoners in the jails?

[Schuster] For many years we have asked this question ourselves. It was a very interesting phenomenon for the Western public that there were so few political prisoners in this repressive system, and if political prisoners were sentenced, most of the time they did not receive very Draconian sentences.

In view of the insights we have now gained, we can understand this. It is certainly plausible. Political prisoners need only be taken to prison so that there they could be subjected to radiation. Afterwards it was completely possible to release them to their families, because nature then did its work. Of course, there is no thesis that proves that one cannot get cancer, but it is certainly interesting that a significant increase in the incidence of cancer could be seen among these people.

Hungarian Foreign Minister Horn Arrives

LD2912143489 Budapest MTI in English 1300 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, December 29 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, arrived in Romania on Friday to hold talks on a new approach to Hungarian-Romanian ties, Hungarian assistance to Romania, and the reciprocally beneficial development of relations.

The foreign minister is accompanied by Lieutenant General Laszlo Borsits, chief of staff Ferenc Pallagi, deputy minister of the Interior, and Geza Maros, head of department at the Ministry of Transport, Telecommunication and Construction.

Mr Horn is scheduled to hold talks with Sergiu Celac, foreign minister, Prime Minister Petre Roman, and the leaders of the Council of the National Salvation Front.

Meets With Celac

LD2912143789 Budapest MTI in English 1351 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, December 29 (MTI)—Foreign Ministers Gyula Horn of Hungary and Sergiu Celac of Romania held talks in the Foreign Ministry building in Bucharest on Friday. The consultation lasted for more than two hours.

On leaving the Foreign Ministry, Mr Horn told an MTI correspondent that 'the talks were very successful and marked by a particularly good atmosphere.'

In the afternoon, Mr Horn is scheduled to meet Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front, and Petre Roman, prime minister. Later, Mr Horn is to hold talks with Geza Domokos, president of the Executive Committee of the Hungarian Democratic Federation of Romania, at the embassy.

Spanish Envoy Meets With Roman; Interviewed

LD2812154789 Madrid Domestic Service in Spanish 1300 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] [First announcer] Romania is now gradually returning to normal. In Bucharest where there was complete calm this morning, the new Romanian prime minister, Petre Roman, received the Spanish ambassador to thank him for Spain's support for the new Romanian regime:

[Second announcer] Petre Roman received the Spanish ambassador to Romania at the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which has become the general headquarters of the government formed by the Council of the National Salvation Front. The meeting between Roman and the Spanish diplomatic representative, Antonio Nunez Garcia-Sauco, served to convey his gratitude to the government of Spain and was conducted in an almost perfect Castilian because we should not forget that the mother of the Romanian prime minister is Spanish. Following the meeting, Petre Roman granted an interview to Spanish Radio and Television in which he reaffirmed that the political future of Romania would be based on party pluralism, and on the near horizon they envisage holding free elections in which all political tendencies which emerge will be able to participate.

[Begin Roman recording in Spanish] We are moving towards free elections with this large platform, this extensive platform, but we want to create the conditions for an election platform which will enable our front to take in (?other) political tendencies which now (?emerge) in the country. [end recording]

[Announcer] He could not omit a reference to the very summary trial of Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu, which culminated in their execution and which is the object of criticism from outside the country because of the apparent lack of guarantees surrounding it. Petre Roman, who personally would have preferred a public trial, says, however, that the death of Ceausescu, whose release was being planned by an elite army unit, has avoided yet further bloodshed in the country.

[Begin Roman recording] There was one alternative: either to accept a trial by a military court straight away with all the legality that this was in the Constitution of the...[Roman changes thought] in the (?statutes) of the military courts, to the point that has now been seen; or accept the risk that was already very clear to the effect that one of the very important groups [words indistinct] and freed the dictator, which would then have led to a bloodbath. [end recording]

CSSR Delegation Arrrives for Meetings

Iliescu Receives Delegation

LD2812162489 Prague CTK in English 1534 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest Dec 28 (CTK correspondent)—Chairman of the Council of the National Salvation Front Ion Iliescu received here today an official Czechoslovak delegation, led by Deputy Foreign Minister Pavel Sadovsky.

The Czechoslovak delegation stressed that the Czechoslovak Government and the Civic Forum have recognized the National Salvation Front as the top representative of Romania and voiced interest in establishing close cooperation at government and non-government levels.

Ion Iliescu appreciated Czechoslovakia's support and assistance for Romania as an expression of the traditionally good relations between the two countries' citizens. He said that the situation in Romania is stabilizing and that new leading bodies on a broad civic platform of pluralism and democratic dialogue are being formed.

The Romanian and Czechoslovak representatives stressed that the future of both countries is in an open society and in close mutual cooperation in democratic Europe.

Celac Meets Delegation

LD2812211289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Sergiu Celac, the new foreign minister, had a meeting today in Bucharest with the official Czechoslovak delegation, which includes Pavel Sadovsky, the first deputy foreign minister, and representatives of Civic Forum.

The Romanian official expressed interest in meeting Jiri Dienstbier, the new chief [SEF] of Czechoslovak diplomacy. The Czechoslovak side expressed interest in establishing cultural ties with the Czech and Slovak minorities in Romania.

More on Support Given to New Interim Government

Embassy in Iraq States Support

JN2412140689 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1245 GMT 24 Dec 89

[Text] Baghdad, 24 Dec (WAKH)—The Romanian Embassy in Baghdad today joined many Romanian diplomatic missions in support of the National Salvation Front which assumed power in Romania.

A spokesman for the Romanian Embassy told the WAKH correspondent in Baghdad that the embassy staff today sent a cable of support to the National Salvation Front formed 2 days ago.

News reports say that many Romanian embassies in the world have declared their support for change and for the collapse of President Nicolae Ceausescu's government.

The spokesman for the Romanian Embassy, who refused to give his name, said that he and his colleagues in the embassy have removed pictures of former President Ceausescu from embassy walls in a show of support for the popular movement of change.

Letter From Catholic Bishop

AU2612045289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1247 GMT 25 Dec 89

["From Roman-Catholic Bishopric in Bucharest"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 25/12/1989—A letter addressed to the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] in Romania by Ioan Robu, bishop of the Roman Catholic Bishopric in Bucharest states: we express our full adhesion to the communique to the country issued by the Council of the National Salvation Front, a document that is to the credit of the democratic and humanist spirit of the Romanian people and assure the country's leadership that we will make every effort for the material reconstruction and spiritual renewal of Romania. I pay pious homage to those who shed their blood for our people's freedom and, while I pray to god to give them happiness in heaven, I beg God's blessing for your heroic work and for the work of all brothers in Romania who love the truth, dignity, democracy and peace. The liberation from lie, from fright and absurd humiliation is the finest Christmas present for Romania.

SFRY Envoy Voices Support

LD2512222689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2044 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] Buchurest, 25 Dec (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government regards the Romanian National Salvation Front, from its very foundation, as the true representative of the Romanian people.

Ilija Djukic, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs, arrived today in Buchurest as an envoy of the Yugoslav Government. During the day, together with Bora Denkov, SFRY ambassador to Romania, he held talks with Romanian acting Minister of Foreign Affairs Constantin Oancea.

Djukic congratulated the Romanian people in the midst of democratic actions, as well as members of natonalities living in Romania who took part in those actions. On the occasion, he mentioned in particular Serbs and Croats.

Djukic conveyed greetings from Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, to the Romanian National Salvation Front. He voiced Yugoslavia's readiness to continue cooperation with Romania on broader bases.

The Yugoslav envoy informed Oancea about political support and material aid which the SFRY is sending to Romania at a time when the Romanian people are leading a decisive battle for a democratic transformation of the country. He talked about further Yugoslav aid and support.

Constantin Oancea particularly stressed that his meeting with Djukic and Denkov was the first which the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has had with a foreign representative. Three days ago the ministry put itself at the disposal of the National Salvation Front. Oancea stressed that Romania particularly values that the Front's first visitor is from Yugoslavia.

On behalf of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Romanian National Salvation Front he expressed satisfaction and gratitude for its position and support which Romanians regard highly. He said that the Romanian Foreign Affairs service and its diplomatic missions are prepared to carry out to the end all tasks put forward by the Council of the Romanian National Salvation Front. The priority is to establish a more comprehensive and extensive cooperation with neighbors, where Yugoslavia has a special importance.

Constantin Oancea was until recently the assistant minister of foreign affairs.

It is expected that Ilija Djukic, as the envoy of the Yugolsav government, will talk tomorrow with representatives of the Council of the Romanian National Salvation Front. When, where, and with whom the meeting will be held, is not yet known.

CEMA's Sychev Greets Iliescu

AU2712235289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2033 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow AGERPRES, 27/12/1989—Telegrams sent through the CEMA headquarters in Moscow and signed by V. Sychev, secretary of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, express sincere congratulations to Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front, and to Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman, for their nomination.

Hungarian Ambassador Speaks

AU2712222889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2041 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/12/1989—On behalf of the Hungarian Government, Szuts Pal, Hungarian Ambassador to Bucharest, addressed messages of solidarity to the Romanian people, mentioning that his country's government is one of the first to have acknowledged the Council of the National Salvation Front. Next, the Magyar ambassador talked about the humanitarian aid sent to Romania's population. He mentioned that

there are no fascist, irredentist and chauvinist elements at all in Hungary as insinuated during Ceausescu's dictatorship which might wish to destabilize Romania. After asking the Magyars in Romania to offer their full expressed belief that the foundations will be cast to new relations of friendship between the two neighbouring countries and peoples. Mr. Szuts said that the Magyar foreign minister wished to visit Romania as soon as possible in order to discuss with the representatives of the National Salvation Front aid needed by Romania and about the future of the relations between the two countries.

Hungary Greets Iliescu

AU2812235189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2202 GMT 28 Dec 89

["Congratulatory Telegram"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/12/1989—A congratulatory telegram was addressed to Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front Council, by Dr. Szuros Matyas, acting president of the Hungarian Republic, expressing the confidence that the revolution in Romania creates possibilities for the renewal upon new bases of the multiple political, economic and scientific, cultural and educational relations between the Hungarian Republic and Romania.

I assure you that the Hungarian people and the state leadership of the Hungarian Republic—the telegram shows—are solid with your fight that has opened the path to real friendship and brotherhood between the two peoples, also allowing the creation of a constitutional state based on the observance of human rights, including the observance of the minorities' rights.

For the triumph of the grand ideas of your revolution, the Hungarian Republic is ready to further give you every political, economic, material and humanitarian assistance and aid.

A congratulatory telegram has been sent to Colonel-General Nicolae Militaru on his appointment to the office of defence minister of Romania by Karpati Ferenc, minister of national defence of the Hungarian Republic.

Libyan Envoy Expresses Support

LD2812201689 Tripoli JANA in English 1704 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, Al-Kanun [December] 28, JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY—The secretary of the Libyan Arab People's Bureau in Bucharest informed the Romanian Foreign Ministry today Great Jamahiriyah's support for the popular revolution of the friendly Romanian people.

Spanish Ambassador Voices Support

AU2912081789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0021 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 28/12/1989—Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman received Spain's ambassador to Bucharest, Antonio Nunez Garcia-Sauco, on 28 December.

The Spanish ambassador conveyed him a message of solidarity with the Romanian people from the president of the Council of Ministers of Spain, Felipe Gonzalez, as well as wishes of success in the activity of the National Salvation Front Council for a fast normalization of the situation in Romania.

Aspects of the events underway in Romania were approached as well as of the activity the National Salvation Front Council and the Romanian people are carrying on for the normalization of the situation.

Thanking, the prime minister of Romania conveyed the president of the Council of Ministers of Spain, Felipe Gonzalez, a cordial salute and wishes of success in his activity, and expressed his willingness to develop the ties between the two friendly Latin countries and peoples.

During the interview Romania's prime minister answered questions asked by representatives of the Spanish Television.

Consumer Cooperatives Support NSF

AU2912094489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0900 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 29/12/1989—The bureau of the Executive Committee of the Central Union of Romania's Consumer Cooperatives (CENTROCOOP) issued a document welcoming the creation of the National Salvation Front [NSF].

The document denounces the former system's voluntarist administrative methods and management which limited the activity of consumer cooperatives, including through the arbitrary measure of putting part of their property under state control.

In the new conditions brought by the revolution, the document shows, CENTROCOOP will continue its normal activity which is subordinated to the National Salvation Front.

A draft programme of action is outlined including among other things a changed legal setting for consumer cooperatives, real profits for their members, the creation of cooperative banks.

The document calls on all cooperative members to support the National Salvation Front in all ways.

Bishop Robu's Letter to NSF on Donations

AU2712194789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0950 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Ttext] Bucharest AGERPRES 27/12/1989—In a letter sent to the National Salvation Front Council, Ioan Robu, Roman-Catholic Bishop of Bucharest shows: in my capacity as Bishop of the Roman-Catholic Archdiocese of Bucharest I request all Catholic faithfuls under my jurisdiction to substantially contribute to the "Freedom Account 1989" and also deposit their donations for the Church. Love is above everything. I also request them to observe all the provisions and decisions of the National Salvation Front Council.

I also announce our Catholics that we will print another Calendar that should not include the dictator's name and other words that were imposed on us as important dates.

Red Cross Says Urgent Needs Met

AU2712183989 Paris AFP in English 1826 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Geneva, Dec 27 (AFP)—Romania's most urgent needs for aid are being met, the International Committee of the Red Cross said Wednesday, but stressed that prisoners and civilians needed protection.

A Red Cross spokesman here appealed to Romanians to show mercy as they rounded up gangs of thugs from the hated Securitate secret police, some of whom are still fighting the movement for democracy.

In Bonn, deputy foreign ministry spokesman Hans Schumacher said West Germany was suspending aid to Romania until technical problems were ironed out.

On Wednesday two West German Air Force planes carrying food and medical supplies returned to West Germany after being unable to unload at Bucharest airport, congested with a flood of aid from Eastern and Western Europe.

Deputy government spokesman Dieter Vogel said Chancellor Helmut Kohl was monitoring the situation in Romania closely and the two million Deutsche marks (1.1 million dollars) Bonn has earmarked for emergency aid to Romania would be used "as soon as possible".

The Red Cross spokesman here said news had just arrived of the death of a Hungarian Red Cross relief worker, "shot at point-blank range" in the Western Romanian town of Timisoara where the demonstrations against executed dictator Nicolae Ceausescu first erupted.

The spokesman expressed indignation at the killing of the volunteer worker, who was shot at the wheel of a Red Cross truck carrying aid from Hungary.

Aid from West and East is "choking" the airports of Bucharest, Budapest and Varna, in Eastern Bulgaria, the spokesman said.

Red Cross teams are working in Bucharest and in the Western towns of Timisoara, Cluj, Arad, Tirgu Mures and Oradea.

A doctor who visited hospitals in the five towns said that "equipment en route and the logistics available are sufficient to meet the most urgent needs".

But Red Cross workers have so far failed to reach the central town of Sibiu, the former fiefdom of Nicolae Ceausescu's detested son Nicu, where tanks were on the streets Wednesday according to witnesses.

Red Cross workers have also been unable to get to Brasov, the country's second city, and most of Northern Romania.

The spokesman said there were 54 Red Cross workers in Romania on Wednesday.

The organisation has set up a coordinating committee in Bucharest with the World Health Organisation and the U.N. Disaster Relief Coordinator's Office.

Many supplies are being routed through Hungary, and a base was to be set up Thursday in Mako, on the Hungarian border.

The spokesman here said Red Cross headquarters had limited contact with relief workers in Romania, but that radio equipment had been sent Wednesday to help them coordinate the aid effort with the base to be established in Mako.

U.S. Jewish Organization Promises Aid

AU2812005589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2034 GMT 27 Dec 89

["Message"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Washington AGERPRES, 27/12/1989—The American Jewish organization "American Joint Distribution Committee" sent to the Romanian leadership a message saying they, as well as other American Jewish organizations that have expressed their sympathy for the Romanian people, are ready to supply humanitarian assistance for Romania. The message is signed by Michael Schneider, executive vice president of the organization.

Foreign Companies Provide Humanitarian Aid

AU2812202689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1636 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/12/1989—Eleven foreign companies with offices in Bucharest have decided to give humanitarian aid to the Romanian people. Boehringer Ingelheim of West Germany has given DM 80,000 worth of medicines including 10,000 Astrovent vials for bronchial asthma, the Dutch Tillo 100,000 U.S. Dollars worth of medicines, clothing and food, the West German Getrin jointly with other companies medicines and medical equipment, knitwear, stockings; the U.S

Royce Int. Romanian footwear made for export, but not delivered yet and paid for by the company which gives it in aid.

Among other firms that have announced aid for Romania are the West German Hoechst A.G. In medicines, medical equipment, laboratory reagents worth more than 250,000 U.S. Dollars, Sweden's Hefa in clothing, food, medicines, the British ICI in medicines, CECON various items, CIBA-GEIGY of Switzerland medicines, the U.S. Pharos will deliver the aid from Greece and the U.S. free of charge.

Roman Receives Red Cross Official 28 Dec

LD2912011189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0015 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 28/12/1989—Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman received on December 28, 1989, Francis Amar, deputy general delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] who heads its humanitarian mission in Romania together with Gianbattista Bacchetta.

The ICRC delegate congratulated the Council of the National Salvation Front and the Romanian prime minister and wished success in the work for the normalization of the situation in the country and for ensuring the Romanian peoples welfare and happiness. At the same time, he informed that the ICRC had sent the Romanian people an aid consisting of four tons of medicines that were to be distributed by understanding with Romanian authorities. The mission, together with the World Health Organization representative will further coordinate the aids being sent to Romania by the organizations they represent and the League of the Red Cross Societies.

Likewise, by close collaboration with the Romanian authorities and the national committee of the Red Cross Society, the mission will assume tasks of humanitarian protection, in order to avoid more casualties.

The Romanian prime minister thanked for the congratulations and for the concrete support given by the ICRC. At the same time, he informed the ICRC representative about the actions being taken by the Council of the National Salvation Front and the whole Romanian people for the fast normalization of the situation in the country, assuring him that the Romanian authorities would give the ICRC mission due assistance.

UN Resolution on Humanitarian Aid

AU2912082689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0238 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] United Nations (AGERPRES) 28/12/1989—The UN General Assembly endorsed in its Thursday night session in plenum a resolution on granting to Romania exceptional humanitarian aid. The document passed by consensus expresses "worry about people's death and the great number of persons afflicted in Romania." All states, international financial institutions, the organizations and programs within the UN system are insistently invited to "urgently give Romania generous exceptional humanitarian aid."

'Several Thousand' Crvena Zastava Workers Strike

AU2812185589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Excerpts] The wave of dissatisfaction over low personal incomes which are not increased in line with inflation is continuing. Several thousand workers stopped work today in the Crvena Zastava plant in Kragujevac and employees in the Kragujevac clinical health center are also on strike. Zoran Glisevic has the details:

Dissatisfied with the envisaged increase in personal incomes for December of the permitted 20 percent, several thousand production workers of the Crvena Zastava plant who receive low wages protested today first on the factory premises and then on the streets of Kragujevac and outside the communal assembly building.

The strike began spontaneously after the first pay envelopes with advance payments lower than had been sought were received. What are the demands of the workers?

[Begin recording of an unidentified worker] We are demanding an increase in personal incomes of 100 percent of the November salary for production workers and production administration, but we also want this to be included in the November base pay. [end recording] [passage omitted]

After failing to accept explanations by the acting general director of the composite social enterprise of the Crvena Zastava plant, the strikers walked to the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Square shouting that they will not move from the communal assembly building until their demands are met.

The result of talks between representatives of sociopolitical organizations, the communal assembly, and the Crvena Zastava plant and members of the strike committee is now being awaited.

As I speak the dissatisfied workers have been joined by many workers from the second shifts.

Strike Ends After Demands Met

AU2812194289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] The strike, mainly by production and production administration workers at Crvena Zastava ended half an hour ago on AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Square in front of the building of the Kragujevac communal assembly. Zoran Glisevic has a report:

Production workers and workers from the production administration of the Crvena Zastava plant will be paid an increase of 100 percent of their November wages tomorrow. Other demands were met as well as this basic demand made by the several thousand striking workers from this collective, who protested today first of all on the factory premises and then on the streets and the AVNOJ Square in front of the communal assembly. Crvena Zastava trade union officials submitted their resignations and the same was done by the management leadership of this collective, whose resignations will take effect after the accounts for the year are closed.

Once all the demands were met and after they were informed of the final results of the talks between the communal and Zastava leadership and members of the strike committee, the thousands of Zastava workers dispersed, chanting about their success.

There is now no one in front of the communal assembly. There remains only the consequences of this protest meeting. This denouement, that had been expected virtually the whole day, was preceded by many things that do not suit a calm organized strike.

At about 1700, when the strikers refused to accept the then latest solution— increasing personal income by 100 percent, paid on 25 January with the help of a bank loan amounting to 100 billion new dinars which would have to be repaid—quite a large group of strikers pushed into the communal assembly. Luckily, this uncontrolled gesture by workers who intended to attack Trboljub Vasovic, president of the Assembly, and Radoljub Mitic, general director, had no serious consequences.

The latest news from Kragujevac is that all available means are being used at the Crvena Zastava plant to procure the enormous amount of money and prepare the payroll for tomorrow's payment.

Striking Glass Workers Demand Pay Hike

AU2812195289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] About 2,000 workers of the Zajecar Kristal factory have been on strike since this morning in front of the communal committee building of the Zajecar League of Communists, demanding more pay and the replacement of all factory leaders and the dissolution of the workers council. Brana Filipovic has the details:

The, above all, financial difficulties that have amassed over the years in this once famous Zajecar Kristal factory came to a head today. The workers revolt turned into a general strike which—as the strike committee promises—will not end just like that. Workers will not disperse until all demands are met and are prepared to even leave for Belgrade and the Serbian Assembly at dawn tomorrow.

This is what the Kristal factory employees are demanding: an increase in wages of 200 percent, the replacement of the entire competent organ, the dissolution of the workers council, and the replacement of the heads of the collective's sociopolitical organizations.

At this moment, in a heated atmosphere, there have been hints of a willingness to meet all the workers' demands

except for one: there is simply no money to increase personal incomes. However, the strikers have succeeded in organizing temporary financial aid from other, better-off Zajecar enterprises. It is difficult to believe that this injection will be enough, especially since most workers earn a miserable 5-8 million dinars a month.

As I speak, workers from the second shift in the Kristal factory have also gathered outside the communal committee building in Zajecar. We have received unofficial information that the head of the glass and crystal factory, Miroslav Todorovic, has verbally submitted his resignation.

Nuclear Power Plant Stopped Due to Earthquake

LD2912025189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2246 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—At about 2100 GMT this evening the region of Krsko was hit by an earthquake on account of which the work of the nuclear power plant was stopped. The installations in the power plant did not, however, suffer any damage.

According to information from the seismological institute in Ljubljana, there were four tremors, of which the strongest had a force of five degrees on the Mercalli scale. The earthquake happened some 70 km from Ljubljana in the region of Krsko.

Kucan Warns of Reform Opponents

LD2212125389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1025 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubjlana, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—Those who were looking for and seeing a counterrevolution here, thereby told us that they do not like roads of reform, democracy, law-governed state, protection of human rights, social security, and stability. Instead of reforms, they want to impose on us the so-called anti-bureaucratic revolution and state of emergency together with suspension of democracy and human rights, Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene League of Communists [LC] Central Committee Presidium, said in the introductory report at today's congress of the Slovene LC.

Those who try to convince us that we embarked on a road of anticommunism, thereby told us that for them communism is just a monopoly of power. Those who accuse us of destroying Yugoslavia, thereby only tell us that for them the federation of equal nations is just a compulsory community under the dictatorship of a party state and the hegemony of the most populous nation, Kucan said.

Markovic 18 Dec Assembly Address

LD1812204889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1227 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—Allow me to explain our comprehensive program of economic reform and measures for its implementation in 1990 and at the same time to explain why we have given this title to the document. The prime reason is the fact that the program does not just apply to 1990 or strictly to the economic sphere alone. Basically, it contains our overall long-term views, concepts, and policy. It also contains a review of all that has been accomplished over the last 9 months as well as proposals, measures, and activities directly ahead of us.

In my first report in which I outlined a platform for pulling us out of the crisis, I accentuated, among other things, two fundamental theses.

First, the emergence from the crisis, the recovery of the Yugoslav economy on a long-term basis, and its ensuing dynamic development are not possible without developing a completely new economic and political system which will guarantee economic efficiency and political democracy with full freedoms and rights for man and citizen to make decisions about his own fate and to impact the organization and development of trends in the society in which he lives.

If the new economic system is to guarantee efficiency it must be based on a developed integral market, on pluralism of forms of ownership and their equal status, and competition in economic activity, on a clear identification of the real owners of social property when it is in the form of socially-owned capital, and on the economy's integration in the international division of labor. This cannot be achieved without the economy being completely separated from political tutelage, without a completely new role for the state which would be appropriate to a market-oriented economy and would consist of creating favorable conditions for dynamic material and social development, or without a legal guarantee of autonomy for economic entities and their property. These are the main conditions for the new socialism which I explained then and on many occasions afterwards.

The deep economic, political, and social crisis in which we have found ourselves and the dearly paid experience of other socialist countries where, under the onslaught and charge of people's dissatisfaction accumulated over several decades, old dogmas and their advocates have been toppled in order to find the way out along the path similar to ours, unreservedly demonstrate that the construction of a new type of socialist society is the only correct way to pull us out of the crisis.

My second thesis was and still is: that due to the burdensome inheritance we received, which was reflected by a pronounced internal and external imbalance, high internal and external debts, high losses and fictitious accounts in the economy, the structural disproportions and technological backwardness of our economy, inflation which tends to exceed 1,000 percent per year, the conflicting and extremely strained political and intranational relations, etc, it is impossible to emerge from the crisis overnight and, without certain

sacrifices, from the price which inevitably must be paid. I said that we need 4 to 5 years for the economy's full recovery and breakthrough via modern production—based on modern technical and technological achievements and export-orientation. By saying this, I have not, however, implied that this whole period is going to be one of suffering, stagnation, falling standards of living, and increases in unemployment. I thought that I had to warn you that we were not going to have an easy time as I estimated that the next year was going to be the decisive one for the reform's success since in its course we have to halt inflation as the necessary precondition for embarking upon the process of implementing the economic reform and overcoming social and political tensions. After this, the consistent and determined implementation of the social and political reform will result in reviving production and opening up a new investment cycle which will be a basis for improving the standard of living and resolving the accumulated social problems. Not even today, after the Federal Executive Council's [FEC] 9-month work on creating the necessary systemic institutionalized conditions for the reform's implementation, I do not have any new reason to force me to change my stance.

In the course of the two subsequent addresses concerning the draft legal projects and the economic policy measures which we proposed and carried out in the course of implementing the adopted inaugural program, I was explaining, on behalf of the government, the significance and importance of the measures which we proposed and informed you about our further intentions and actions.

Let me remind you—before I begin explaining the concept of the policy for 1990 and particularly the part of the program for curbing inflation—of all we have been doing over the past 9 months and of the interdependence between these moves in the framework of the overall strategy aimed at overcoming the crisis in our country.

As is known, the FEC has been simultaneously operating along four tracks.

First, starting from the need to develop a completley new economic system and the premises on which it should be based, we have prepared and proposed, and the SFRY Assembly has accepted, changes and addenda to a number of already adopted laws. (footnote 1) Also, the Assembly has adopted a certain number of completley new economic and systemic laws (for example a law on labor relations, on external trade dealings, on commodity reserves, the money and capital market, and on bonds, etc.), which change the economic being of our country as well as the position of econmic subjects. In the procedure of consideration in the SFRY Assembly there are a number of other laws, such as the law on foreign exchange transactions, the law on the social control of prices, and the law on turnover tax, together with an agreement on the united bases of the taxation system and the common bases of taxation policy (footnote 2), as well as some other laws which in practical terms to a very large extent round off the economic system in the most vital sectors of social reproduction, which should also now be adopted so that the system might function in full measure and make a contribution to the Yugoslav economy's stabilization. (footnote 3)

With these economic and systemic preconditions, the conditions have been created for market-orientated business operations, and necessary mechanisms and instruments have been prepared for the beginning of the economic reform process. Of fundamental importance here is the autonomy of economic subjects in all fields of economic activity—production, trade, mediation using money (the banks) whose motive is the creation of profit, drawing a line between management and a redefined self-management, in other words participation, constituting the Yugoslav National Bank as a central monetary institution with full autonomy in performing all its functions in the field of taking care of the country's external and internal liquidity, and preserving the national currency's value, the creation of market institutions—a money, capital, and labor market (footnote 4)—and the creation of true bases for the macroeconomic management of the economy. In this way, the state-ownership and command management of the economy is replaced by economic methods and means appropriate to a law-governed state and a market economy.

The transition to convertibility will create prospects for firmer ties with the world, stimulate the greater inflow of foreign capital, and strengthen in a major way the confidence of foreign partners and financial circles in our resolve to ensure a healthy economy by implementing economic reform.

In our internal relations, the dinar's convertibility would be a key parameter determining and influencing the quantitative expression of all other measures, the behavior of economic policy exponents at all levels, and the adoption of decisions on economic and other subjects.

In other words, for small and open economies which, in the natural course of things, must try to exchange the largest possible part of their social product with the world in order to develop dynamically and reduce the difference in their degree of development in relation to the developed countries and to resolve in a satisfactory way their social problems, the convertibility of the national currency is exceptionally important.

Trade with the clearing area under conditions of convertibility must inevitably receive a completely different treatment and share the fate of a valuation of the system in which current transactions are valued both in the country and in trade with the world. This means that, along with a possible change in interstate agreements, a bonds market must exist in which there will be regulation of the valuation of outstanding debts in accounting dollars. In this way, the problems of monetary effects, which are caused by the emergence of a surplus in trade with the clearing area, will disappear. The big clearing

balance which has been created hitherto must be resolved as soon as possible. There are many possibilities as well as concrete activities, such as earlier payments, the purchase of our debts, joint projects, and other things.

The exchange rate for the dinar will, in the course of the next 6 months, be firmly tied to the West German mark in a ratio of seven dinars to one mark. The reason for opting to tie our currency to the German mark is the stabilty of this currency as well as the fact that in our country, too, (as well as in other countries in which there is hyperinflation), the national currency in practical terms is so devalued and pushed to one side as a measure of value, that accounting in trade is, in large measure, being carried out in FRG currency, which is our main foreign trade partner.

Before fixing the new exchange rate, its rate of decline in the last few months was halted.
as indispensable to paving the way for a change of the existing ownership relations, in which almost 90 percent of the country's wealth is socially owned, but lacks the attributes of ownership.

Without these changes, there can be no mixed economy with pluralism and competition of ownership. There can be no chance to utilize all the available resources, to mobilize the domestic and foreign funds, to rationalize social ownership and use it as capital, to make profit the motive in all forms of ownership, to establish competition, and to make it a normal occurrence in the ambience of the market, and finally, to open up prospects for greater employment under national economic development.

Allow me to say that the greatest structural problem that faces our economy is the problem of capital. Without these changes, the nature of the existing economic and social relations would remain in essence unchanged, and one could meet the request to abolish inflation only with administrative methods and measures, but these would stop inflation only temporarily, while its causes and the methods of the present consensus economy would remain untouched. These taken together not only caused and generated inflation, but provoked the crisis in all its profoundness.

Such an approach would mean a repetition of the present errors, but in the present situation this would not only disappoint expectations, but would push us into an even deeper crisis.

Second, it was necessary to create the indispensable material conditions for reform steps and for opening a new and healthy development cycle. In the first place, one had to consolidate the country's balance of payments and our overall position toward the foreign countries. Therefore, the economic policy directed toward exports and support to the exporters had to obtain priority. These efforts have yielded fruit, and I would say that spectacular results were achieved in this field.

Exports are increasing greatly. In 11 months of this year, overall exports were 8.3 percent higher, and exports to the hard-currencies area were 10.7 percent higher than in the same period of 1988. On the other hand, overall imports increased 12 percent, and imports from the hard-currencies area increased 17.4 percent. It is assessed that as a result of such trends in the sphere of exports, a surplus totaling $2.3 billion, including $2,153,000,000 in hard currencies, has been achieved in the balance of payments during this period.

On 13 December, foreign exchange reserves reached a record $5.8 billion. All this has been achieved in the conditions of regularly repaying foreign obligations due, and reducing the short-term debt by $384 million, as well as converting the foreign debt totaling $1.2 billion.

The country's hard currency debt has been reduced and now totals $16.6 billion, and about 16 percent of the annual foreign exchange inflow is allocated for repaying our obligations. During the hardest days in the past, the level of indebtedness even exceeded 45 percent [referent base not given].

The proposed changes will only speed up the present positive trend. It is no wonder then that our reform enjoys strong foreign support. There is a readiness to extend a comprehensive economic and political support to it.

With such a great effort toward exporting, one should also point to an increase of industrial production of 1.9 percent, agricultural production of 6 percent, and an increase in the social product of 0.8 percent, as well as an increase in the capital turnover ratio.

However, despite all economic problems which are inevitable in such a situation, there has been a real increase in consumption and a real increase in personal incomes. These results have been achieved thanks to the measures of macro-economic policy within the given institutional restrictions and a combination of respective short-term and long-term measures. The basic characteristic of these measures was a direction toward liberalization, deregulation, reducing the burden of costs, and decreasing costs through a reduction of federal budget revenues within the social product and a reduction of the cost of importing inputs, the stimulation of production directed to exports and foreign exchange inflow, all this to help to open the process of implementing the new economic system.

Third, it was then necessary to establish the losses, deficits, and doubtful debts in the sphere of public spending: budgets of sociopolitical communities together with the funds for social activities in banks and economy which represent key generators of inflation. The result of the proposed measures is that the cost of rescue and servicing debts and losses, together with repaying the principal of the foreign debt and the interest on it, will in 1990 total 10 percent of the country's estimated social product. This means that, instead of being used for development or for personal incomes, this

portion of capital accumulation will have to be used for this purpose. This is a heavy burden which shows in a cumulative and obvious way that one has lived beyond one's means and the income earned. It manifests many irrationalities and big disturbances and disequillibria in the material flows of social reproduction which have appeared as a consequence of grave defects in the system based on the concept of ownerless social property, consensus economy, and the voluntarist interference and command over economy by state and political factors. In a way, this also shows that it was unrealistic to expect these problems to be given efficient and long-term solutions without making changes in the economic system.

Had this job not been done, there would have been no conditions for all economic and other societyal factors to be oriented toward building a healthy economic organism and toward a gradual liberalization...[Markovic corrects himself]...liquidation of the heritage from the past 2 decades. To expect to have an efficient economy, not to mention bringing down inflation, without all that would be a mere illusion, because deficits and doubtful debts are its key hotbeds.

All the prerequisites which are decisively important for the successful realization of the reform's next stage and for crushing inflation have already been created. This has allowed the Federal Executive Council to not only present to you today its view of the present situation, but also to put forward a program for economic reform and the elimination of inflation which will have not just an economic effect but also a strong effect on the country's sociopolitical system, the character of the relationship between the state and the economy, the character of the federation, and the mutual relations between the Assembly and the Federal Executive Council.

Therefore, neither the Federal Executive Council nor its president has for one single moment been under the illusion that inflation will be curbed and brought down only by making systemic changes by themselves, as some people have wanted to show. We have consciously resisted pressure to propose radical measures for bringing down inflation without previously creating the kind of essential conditions that have now been created so that these measures would be able to have the desired effect.

Just as we would lose the battle at the very beginning and be pulled backwards to regulating society through administrative means and another escalation of inflation if we were to come out prematurely with one program for the struggle against inflation without having created the institutional conditions for this, if we were to now delay in implementing the program then we would in fact be allowing contradictions and social and political and all other tensions to increase so much that the realization of the program itself could be brought into question.

The right moment for us to implement this is when we adopt it. Then the conditions for the success of this part of the program of our reform will be optimal. The struggle against inflation and its reduction is only one, and not the most difficult, part of the program of economic stabilization and development of a new society on healthy foundations. That is to say, everything that has been done so far makes an effective struggle against inflation possible and creates a realistic basis for it to be reduced to a relatively low level in relation to the level of inflation of our most important Western foreign trade partners.

On the other hand, curbing inflation is becoming an essential part of and prerequisite for economic reform and for the start of the process of dynamic and stable development.

Comrades, delegates, allow me to say something about the concept of economic policy for next year and the actual model for bringing down inflation.

The basic characteristics of the model for reviving the economy and the financial system in a direct way and on a long-term basis are...[Markovic stutters and then corrects himself]...is the dinar's convertibility in current transactions with foreign countries and with citizen's freedom to freely exchange dinars for foreign currency according to the official rate of exchange. [sentence as heard] The dinar's rate of exchange is linked with the German Mark and will not be changed until 30 June 1990.

The characteristics also include a firm monetary policy, a budget balanced with its own realistic revenue, free setting of interest rates with the appropriate role of the Yugoslav National Bank's discount rate, and free setting of prices except for those within infrastructure and communal activities (?for the period) until 30 June 1990.

An increase in prices of about 13 percent at the annual level is expected. Until 30 June 1990, personal incomes will be set on the basis of advances paid before 15 December 1989 for November and will be indexed to the change in the exchange rate of the Western German mark in relation to the convertible dinar.

Provisions and mechanisms are envisaged for the deficits of the federal budget and banks. The federal budget also envisages special aid for the economy's financial rescue in less-developed areas. The federal budget will contribute to financing part of the welfare program.

The dinar's denomination is to change from today's 10,000 dinars to 1 convertible dinar, or 7 convertible dinars for 1 West German mark, or 12 convertible dinars for U.S. $1. Therefore, three levers constitute the foundation of the model: the dinar's convertibility and the strategy of deflation formed on this basis, as well as appropriate fiscal and monetary policies. As an additional lever these will be accompanied by the appropriate policies in the areas of economic relations with foreign countries, prices, and personal incomes, as well as the interest-rate policy which is soon to be set freely. One should also add a social and a developmental policy,

which will relieve the burden of deflation and initiate the processes of the restructuring of the economy and a new cycle of development.

All these elements have been composed in such a way and coordinated—according to content and the temporal dimension of the beginning of their effect and their duration—during preparations for the program that they represent one consistent whole. Each of these policy measures has its own precisely perceived and measured role in achieving this aim and creating conditions for reviving our economy.

I will briefly explain each of these basic levers. I think that you will agree that there is no better market way with which one can enter the new economic system than the convertibility of one's own currency. Thanks, above all, to the state of foreign currency reserves and the advantage of the economic system conditions that we have created, the dinar's convertibility will be used as a means for achieving the stability of economic trends and for qualitative development. But it is not an aim in itself.

Convertibility is also a measure of ability and an indicator of efficiency and productivity, and it is that quality that is essential to surpass the limits within which one does not have a real market without integration into the world market. This is defense from voluntarism and requires the discipline of all factors which decide economic policy as the rational behavior of every economic subject.

The dinar's convertibility is the central lever for all parts of macroeconomic policy which have the role of protecting a healthy convertible currency. Conducting a consistent policy with the aim of reducing the tension between the basic economic flows in the period that preceded the preparation of the deflation program, one has endeavored to harmonize the relations between the exchange rate, prices, especially prices of infrastructure, personal incomes, and interest rates, as well as of other economic aggregates, and at a certain moment to create the necessary prerequisites that will enable one to go over to a convertible dinar.

The analyses carried out and certain perceptions indicate that one can proclaim as of today that the dinar's convertibility is established and that the exchange rate against the West German mark is fixed for the proposed period. This convertibility refers to all the current transactions in the country and abroad, as well as to all the legal and physical persons, which means that every citizen has the right to buy foreign currencies in a bank without any limit if he possesses enough dinars. Of course, the new convertible dinar will exclude this need in a very short time.

The foundation for adopting this decision is the extremely favorable state of our country's balance of payments, the large foreign exchange reserves—of about $5.8 billion—which are 2.5 times larger than what is needed for a normal payment of our foreign obligations. The expected surplus in the balance of payments in 1990, which envisages an increase of foreign exchange reserves by a further $2 billion, and the strong foreign financial aid in addition [Markovic stutters, breaks off the sentence]. In addition, a liberalization of imports has been carried out, reform charges have been implemented in the economic system, and some further changes will be proposed in some remaining sections of the system in which reform has not been carried out completely, such as the fiscal system and the system of protection.

The newly set exchange rate at this level and for this period of time will yield a significant contribution to the struggle for reducing inflation through reducing cost expenses. On the other hand, the new exchange rate will not threaten income generating motivation to export and the realization of the set tasks regarding the country's balance of payments. This is even more true because restrictive monetary policy, a fall in demand, and a reduction in absorption power by the domestic market will force the economy to export.

The second main lever in bringing down inflation is the fiscal policy, which must enable reduction in the demand of money and pressure on the monetary and banking system. It must be based on real sources and must serve the implementation of the program by taking on the main burden in improving the deficit and losses in the area of public spending, as well as a very important burden in consolidating our economy on sound, market bases and removing the current imbalances.

Namely, monetary policy cannot successfully realize its functions and tasks in preserving the convertibility and stability of the dinar and bringing down inflation as the primary aim, if, instead of the monetary policy, the federal budget and fiscal policy do not take on all tasks which the National Bank of Yugoslavia has carried out so far and which are outside its domain. Financing these tasks with the funds from the primary money emission caused harmful monetary and inflationary effects. Therefore, it is exceptionally important that the consolidation of the federal budget is carried through and that funds from real sources are secured for covering all its envisaged expenditure, so that it can be solvent and capable of carrying out obligations on time.

In the middle of this year, the FEC—by combining budgetary and extra-budgetary balance and reducing certain expenses for intervention in the economy—made a first step in consolidating the federal budget. Thereby, a share of the federal budget was reduced from 11.7 percent last year to 8.7 percent this year.

With the proposed federal budget for 1990, a further and resolute move in that direction was made. Namely, apart from financing the federation's classical functions on the basis of the current constitutional and legal obligations and interventions in the economy, the federal budget for the next year also contains additional obligations and burdens. These are federal obligations based on the foreign currency savings and other exchange rates' disparities, that is, servicing the public debt, taking on

subsidizing a share of the interest rate on agricultural loans from a program of selective measures, funds for the financial recovery of commercial banks, and funds for financing a part of the social program. These combined additional obligations and burdens are to the tune of 12.8 billion convertible dinars.

The federal budget assumes its full obligation regarding certain foreign credits. This will represent a significant contribution to the economic and financial consolidation of certain economic subjects, particularly in the economically underdeveloped regions whose foreign debts are also above average. Of the full amount of these credits (995 million dollars), the economically underdeveloped republics and Kosovo will receive about (?70) percent of this amount.

Apart from certain foreign credits, a considerable part of the banks' fictitious accounts, that is, the so-called contaminated credits, will be settled. Banks' balances are to be settled as early as at the start of implementing the program for one part of the fictitious short-term outstanding debts (about two to three billion dollars), and, later on, this operation would be carried out on a part of the long-term investments. The operations regarding this part of the program will be undertaken by a special agency which is to be set up under the auspices of the National Bank of Yugoslavia. In the meantime, the National Bank of Yugoslavia will carry out these tasks on the agency's behalf and with its account. To finance the agency's activities, that is, to settle the fictitious accounts taken on from the banks, the federal budget for 1990 also envisages the funds which are the equivalent in dinars of 250 million dollars and also envisages ensuring additional funds in the range of 100,000 dollars (insurance premiums for the deposits held by the banks). It should also be mentioned that the federal budget has allocated funds amounting to three percent of the social product for a partial settlement and financing of deficits while the other subjects in the country should ensure about two percent of the social product for this purpose.

One should also note that great efforts have been invested in the federal budget for 1990 so as to enable it to ensure a more stable and timely financing of the Yugoslav People's Army's needs than was the case in previous years. This problem will be solved in a satisfactory way once adequate changes to the SFRY Constitution—and on the basis of this, adequate solutions to the tax system—are passed.

In this way, in addition to the purely fiscal functions, the federal budget will take on for the first time an active role in the country's economic policies.

The new federal budget tailored in this way accounts for 10.4 percent of the estimated social product for 1990 and after new obligations and expenditures are deduced, only 7.5 percent. This move, to repeat this again, enables the National Bank of Yugoslavia, once relieved of all those tasks which are not in its domain, to fully assume its autonomous role in conducting appropriate monetary policies.

Similar changes and moves to those made in the federal budget should be also applied by the other sociopolitical communities—republics, provinces, and municipalities—to their budgets. They should also identify their deficits in public spending, consolidate their budgets, and cover and finance the deficits with funds from real sources. It will be necessary for the republics and provinces to participate in providing for losses in the funds of social services and losses of big enterprises, particularly the losses of those in the public sector. According to our estimate, just to support the recovery of these enterprises and a part of the social programs in the republics and provinces, about 1.3 billion dollars should be ensured in the next year.

In accordance with our reform resolutions and market-oriented economic activity, we shall soon embark on a process of organizational, institutional, and material-financial changes. This requires self-managing communities of interests, together with social sector organizations, to assume new organizational forms and to reexamine their organizational structure and rights and to bring them in line with society's material potentials and needs. In light of this, resources earmarked for financing their needs must be in line with planned overall national income distribution in the republics and provinces in whose competence they lie.

It must not be forgotten that resources for subsidizing public expenditure in 1990 can no longer be provided by loans from banks or by issuing and selling securities.

I would like to draw attention to the fact that in the first quarter of next year, serious difficulties may arise in raising money to finance public sector requirements. This refers to a problem which will result from the need to cancel budgetary accounts of sociopolitical communities and social sector funds, especially in the health service and pension and disability insurance, in order to bridge the differences between the size of subsidies given to the users of budgetary and fund resources on one hand, and the rate of income inflow on the other, created primarily by existing inflation due to "inflation tax payments" during the transitional period from an inflationary to a noninflationary situation. To this end, it must be ensured that in the process of drawing up budgets and funds, provisions are made for postponing expenditures to a later period, according to their importance and size, when the rate at which the income devaluation as a result of "inflation tax" will be considerably reduced and will become negligible.

Once inflation is cut and this problem disappears, we will find ourselves in a completely different situation. We will then have to reexamine and revise taxation and contribution rates as well as the system of subsidizing

budgets and funds with the aim of preventing an explosion in this kind of expenditure and any further taxation of the economy.

The third important inflation cutting instrument which will be subjected to the strongest pressures is a firm and restrictive monetary policy. A successful outcome of the entire program of eliminating inflation will depend, to a large extent, on how consistent we are in implementing this policy. This policy is defined in such a way and geared towards attaining this goal so that there will be no scope for creating a new monetary supply beyond the firmly outlined monetary framework.

All the necessary preconditions for the effective promulgation of such monetary and credit policy have been created.

With the institutional changes that have been carried out in the monetary system, as well as with the given proposal to change the Constitution which will allow the transactions of the Yugoslav National Bank to be run by a governor, the National Bank will be fully equipped to effectively and consistently implement such a policy and to bear full responsibility for it.

The Yugoslav National Bank now has at its disposal a very well-elaborated mechanism of monetary regulation which can affect developments in credit and the implementation of established policy in this field. This regulation will be implemented above all by the market mechanism, i.e. by conducting an appropriate interest rate policy which, in principle, will be formed freely, as well as by the policy of the Yugoslav National Bank's discount rates.

As I have already stressed, the National Bank must fully free itself from all business which is not within its domain and this has been one of the main causes of the uncontrolled creation of the primary monetary issues and a powerful cause of inflation. This is a matter of transferring some of the obligations of the Yugoslav National Bank to the federal budget, their transformation into a public debt, and their servicing by funds from real sources. This is also a matter of cutting out autonomous and uncontrolled courses of money creation which relate to printing money in order to finance clearing trade and deferred payments of outstanding debts which have fallen due to certain countries, the cessation of the provision of loans to the Federation by the Yugoslav National Bank on any basis whatsoever, and abandoning the selective provision of loans, in other words loans for liquidity.

All the legal and other acts regulating these questions make up a constituent part of this programm and must at the same time be adopted with it, with the proposed solutions, so that monetary policy might be able to play its irreplaceable role in the projected curbing of inflation.

The basic precondition for the business operations of economic and noneconomic subjects under the conditions of such a monetary policy and market ambient established by the new economic system—without bigger victims and more negative consequences than are otherwise necessary—is the strict adherence to financial discipline and consistent business operations in accordance with economic criteria and market principles. I must point out that the counters of the Yugoslav National Bank will be closed for all banks which, in their approval of loans and monetary operations, fail to adhere to economic principles (profitability, solvency, liquidity) and as a result get into financial difficulties, and that all those who fail to operate in this way and get into a situation of illiquidity will fall into unbridgeable difficulties. These banks will not be able to count on obtaining loans to cover the illiquidity of banks and the losses of enterprises, personal incomes, and other things. The new owners of the banks should not allow local state and political factors to continue with the old practice—one unsuitable to the market economy—of exerting pressures on banks to approve loans to clients who conduct business operations badly, or have dubious projects. Likewise, economic collectives, too, must count on adherence in their business operations to healthy economic principles and, if they fall into difficulties, they must themselves seek to find a way out (writing off the business fund, the sale of property, resort to the money and capital market, and other things).

The prices of goods and services will continue to be formed freely on the market, with the exception of: prices in the electricity supply industry, the price of coal for thermoelectric plants, prices in the oil industry, railway transportation, post, telegraph, and telecommunications services, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, the prices of medicines, and prices in the communal infrastructure, for which a price ceiling is to be set over the next 6 months—until the end of the first half of 1990. After this period, prices in these activities will be corrected by the average growth in industry production prices.

As is known, at the end of November, the FEC approved changes in the prices in infrastructural activities (the fixing of which falls within the competence of the federation), and in this way we attempted, and to the greatest extent succeeded, in anticipating expected price trends (of industrial producers, and the exchange rate with reference to oil) by the end of this year. We have now made a small correction to prices in these fields beginning tomorrow, and by doing this their equal economic position between economic activities is ensured.

In fact, analyses show that these price changes have removed the price disparities in these activities, and in this way the further emergence of current losses in them on the basis of price disparities was prevented. Nevertheless, as regards losses which arose in an earlier period, it is unrealistic to expect that they can be covered by further immoderate price rises. These losses should be resolved in ways made possible by the new economic

system and accompanied by the specific participation of the republics, provinces, and municipalities, but also by major improvements and advancements in the organization and method of work, by the better use of available capacities, by a reexamination of the number of employed workers, and by more rational behavior in the distribution and use of incomes. The transformation of these activities and their transition to business activity in new market conditions imposes this on its own. Their monopoly position does not give them the right to submit—only on the basis of expenditure principles and badly-managed business operations—a bill to society with the constant demand for raising prices, whereby they cover all the weaknesses of their own business operations.

The decisions on setting a ceiling for these prices was adopted by the FEC at its meeting the day before yesterday, and we propose to the SFRY Assembly that it adopt decisions on setting a ceiling on prices in the housing and communal services field, in view of the fact that this is a matter of prices within the competence of the republics, or provinces. These decisions mean that 19.5 [percent] of the total of retail prices and 24.3 [percent] of the value of industrial production is under direct control.

Personal incomes until the end of June 1990 will be formed at the level of personal incomes paid out for November on 15 December 1989, increased by a percentage of the growth in the exchange rate of the West German mark. In this way, a realistic level of personal incomes is assured, and this is achieved on the day the dinar's convertibility is established. In order to ensure this, we have proposed a special law on the method of paying personal incomes.

Such solutions automatically determine a major part of earnings related to the trends in personal incomes (pensions, disability allowances, and the like), which affect demand.

We decided on this solution due to the fact that in the course of this year, personal incomes have grown by 10 percent in real terms and have not been covered by productivity and results of work. A continuation of such a practice in the next year would undermine the realization of the goals prescribed by the program of noninflation.

Investigations show that in the next year personal incomes will fall due to restrictive monetary policy, market mechanisms, consolidation of financial discipline, and contraction of the production and reduction of the social product. Such a reduction of personal incomes and related earnings will lower inflation due to lower labor costs and the easing of pressure on prices, on the one hand, and the fall in the demand on the other.

Included within the implementation of monetary reform, it is proposed that one new, convertible, dinar would be worth 10,000 present dinars. That dinar would have all the characteristics of convertibility in the current transactions, including the citizens' right to buy foreign currency with dinars in banks. All preparations for carrying out this operation are finished, so that from 1 January of next year, we shall have the denomination of a new convertible dinar. The whole operation of exchanging old with new monetary units, together with all additional changes in the value and information system, business, and money transactions, is fully envisaged and planned, and it will be implemented in a relatively short period of time.

It is expected that as a consequence of these anti-inflationary measures, overall economic policy, and the activity of a new economic system, inflation growth will be reduced to 13 (?per cent) per year in 1990.

Anti-inflationary policy measures are conceived so that the main thrust of the assault on inflation will be in the first quarter of next year, when the consequences of the assault will be felt most severely. Hence, it is of crucial importance that all exponents of economic and business decisions count on this fact, that they are prepared in time to bear the assault, and do not cause themselves uninsurmountable difficulties through haste and poorly thought out moves.

It is beyond doubt that this program for a way out of the crisis and noninflation [dezinflacija] is very difficult, that it contains very sharp and painful cuts, which will, to a greater or lesser extent, effect many working people and citizens. But this is the price that we have to pay for a way out of the crisis. It is better if we pay the price today rather than tomorrow, under considerably less favorable economic, and perhaps political and social, circumstances.

Aware of the fact, the FEC, as already stated, prepared and proposed a number of measures that would enable those most affected to bear the burden more easily. We hope, counting on the traditional spirit of solidarity of the Yugoslav society and its tendency for mutual help in most difficult situations, that we will be met with your understanding and that you will support our proposals. The measures in essence are the following:

First, the FEC pointed out on several occasions the need to develop social programs and ensure appropriate funds that would ease assaults and social consequences inevitably resulting from the implementation of the economic reform and restructuring the economy. These programs present a necessary condition for implementing reforms without major social tremors. We assess that what has been done so far in republics and provinces in this area is insufficient, and that funds secured for those goals are obviously below the necessary level. It is obvious that the main reason for this is material difficulties in which some republics and provinces, especially some, find themselves. For that reason, the FEC proposes that the federal budget secure funds in dinars equivalent in value to about $150 million. Out of that amount, about $100 million would be allocated according to set criteria for

social security for newly unemployed workers, the opening of new work places, requalifications, and training; and about 50 million dollars as a share of additional funds for the implementation of the program for the protection of the socially affected population. Additional funds, allocated according to the set criteria, would be given to republics and provinces in accordance with their ability to cover the minimum expenses of social (?security) from their funds.

Second, as I have already stressed, the FEC, apart from measures for the financial recovery of the economy and banks, prepared and proposed additional measures to help the economy in economically insufficient regions.

We decided on this move for two other reasons, which have a wider significance. One, without financial recovery and consolidation of these regions, it is impossible to establish a firm financial discipline and a single Yugoslav market, because insolvency of these regions is automatically carried through to the economy of other parts of the country and puts pressure on the banking system and its solvency, that is, keeping the level of money within a normal framework.

The other reason, measures to reduce the indebtness of the economies of these regions regarding foreign loans, will have positive effects on reducing federal obligations in connection with covering current exchange rate disparities.

However, as far as the economies of insufficiently developed republics and provinces are concerned, it must be said that, in view of a very difficult economic situation there, they will, to a large extent, be able to use funds that the federation will earmark for financing recovery programs for banks and for providing financial support for social welfare programs. I believe that in this way, conditions have been created for the economies of these regions, through their own efforts, to become integrated in economic activities in accordance with market principles.

The econmic reform, now at an advanced stage, has created a new type of relations which reflect changes in the nature of our econmy and which require appropriate changes in the way the system and its institutions function and, especially, in relations between the SFRY Assembly, the FEC, and the Yugoslav National Bank. The rights and duties of these bodies must be changed to enable them, as efficiently and rationally as possible, to embark on applying market economy mechanisms and to ensure economic stability.

In other words, to ensure a new status for the economy, the market's uninterrupted functioning, macroeconomic control of the economy, and an economic balance, and to safeguard the value of our currency, it is necessary to change the position of the Federal Executive Council and enable it to function under the full legal competence of the SFRY Assembly within a law-governed state and with an economy and country open to the world.

For this reason, the FEC is also proposing today the appropriate change in the existing Constitution, and is not waiting for the new constitution. These changes should enable the reform to be successfully carried out and the FEC to operate efficiently under the new conditions, and should carry the responsibility for economic policies and the economy's macroeconomic management.

In order to round off the economic system and ensure that relations are not formed at the state level, and to ensure the complete stability of economic subjects, the designation of legal ownership [opredeljenje titulara] of social capital, pluralism, and equality of ownership, and competition of all forms of ownership on the market, we need to remove from the Constitution certain restrictions that are hampering the effective introduction of a capital market and the development of entrepreneurial habits in business activity.

We must ensure that decisionmaking on common interests at the Federation level is extended so that the federal organs can realize their tasks in the sphere of the market economic system and have greater autonomy in conducting economic policies, and so that they can bear complete responsibility for the operation and implementation of the established policies.

In order for macroeconomic policies io be conducted successfully, it is proposed that a uniform taxation system and joint bases for taxation policies should be regulated at the Federal level. In addition, we propose that the federation's income should be comprised of customs duties and sales tax and other original revenues set out in federal law, so that it would no longer be necessary to finance the federation's functions with contributions from the republics and autonomous provinces as a special source. This will facilitate the greater independence of other sociopolitical comunities, above all those of the republics and autonomous provinces, in that part of taxation functions which will be realized in accordance with the taxation system, to demonstrate their independence and maximal flexibility so that taxation policy serves to encourage economic activity, entrepreneurship, and to attract capital. This will make room for the harmonization of taxation policies in the republics and provinces on the basis of the functioning of the uniform Yugoslav market, taxation competitiveness, and mobility of the factors of production and income generated.

We consider that for the functioning of the state to be efficient, it is also necessary to carry out appropriate changes in the Constitution to regulate the state security service's operation, without changing the basic characteristic of the Constitution according to which the foundations of the system of defense of the constitutionally established order (state security) are regulated from the Federal level.

The FEC considers it necessary to more effectively protect our system's basic values such as the freedoms,

rights, and duties of the individual and citizens guaranteed by the SFRY Constitution, the unity of the Yugoslav market, and the constitutionally established order. It is therefore proposed that, proceeding from the responsibility of the FEC for the overall situation in all areas of social life, its right and duty should be set out to prevent the execution of any act or action that would limit or destroy the said basic values. It should have the right and duty to then take proceedings to the competent court of other authorized organs to establish the justifiability of such actions and accountability for them.

In the framework of systemic laws, which it is deemed necessary to adopt immediately, there is a law on social capital. In line with scientific studies and experience in the world, this law proposes solutions for the fuller activity of the market and questions of buying and selling social capital. Without this there is no restructuring of our economy or operation of the integral market. The law envisions that it be clearly established that employees participate in management on the basis of their current work and on the basis of their share of social capital in overall capital. Employees can decide that social capital is the subject of sale, while all domestic and foreign legal entities and persons can buy it. Resources generated by a sale are paid into funds for development which, as public enterprises, will be formed by the republics or the provinces, together with other founders.

The law on the financial recovery, bankruptcy, and liquidation of banks resolves the problems of fictitious accounts in the Yugoslav banking system. To prevent the further growth of fictitious accounts, or rather the expansion of the banking system's insolvency, solutions and mechanisms are proposed to facilitate the financial recovery of banks and their bankruptcy in cases where this will be indispensable and economically justified. Here the starting point is the principle of economic efficiency, or rather the maximum saving of resources in establishing the stability and solvency of the banking system. We propose that organized moves be made to undertake a project outline of the banking system's financial recovery, where the overall approach and volume of the involvement of subjects outside the banks will depend on data on the bank's assets and its off-balance items, which represent a potential loss and are the best indicator of its financial situation. We calculate that on the basis of an assessment of use and expenditure in some cases, it will be necessary to adopt a decision on the liquidation of a bank, and a specific procedure is envisioned for this.

Activities for the financial recovery of the banking system in the world are usually carried out by the central banks via special institutions authorized for this purpose by the law. As a result of this we propose a draft law on an agency of the federation for ensuring deposits and the banks' financial recovery. It will carry out a procedure of the financial recovery, bankruptcy, or liquidation of banks. The federation will set up the agency, and lasting sources of finance are premiums the banks will be obliged to pay to the agency in the name of securing deposits, revenue that will be generated by the business activity of the agency, and bonds the agency issues under conditions established by the Yugoslav National Bank.

It is also proposed that funds, whose equivalent value in dinars is $250 million, are secured from the federal budget for setting up and operating the agency in 1990.

The FEC proposes that the law be adopted on forced assignment, bankruptcy, and liquidation of enterprises. This law, together with the law on financial dealings, finishes off the regulation of enterprises that are no longer profitable, that is, solvent. It should also ensure normal restructuring of the economy through bankruptcy of inefficient enterprises, as well as financial discipline, which will be consistently based on principles of solvency.

Changes to the law on foreign currency dealings regulates payment operations with foreign countries in a completely new manner, which is one of the conditions for establishing the dinar's convertibility: a system of conditionally free imports is abolished, and, thereby, preconditions for a full liberalization of paying all current transactions with foreign countries are created; foreigners will be able to recover freely, without limitations, outstanding debts in dinars; a higher degree of security for foreign partners regarding these recoveries is ensured; Yugoslav citizens are thus able to acquire foreign currency by purchasing them from authorized banks; interest rates on foreign currency saving accounts will be in foreign currency; and the private and social sector will have the same rights and obligations. Likewise, changes in laws present a significant degree of deregulation in the area of foreign currency dealings.

As you could have gathered from articles on the results of various talks with representatives of foreign governments, especially from developed countries, and on the successfully ended talks with the IMF mission, our economic reform and the program of stabilization, which includes the program of noninflation, were assessed very favorably and received full support. This means that doors are open to us for successful negotiations with all international financial institutions (the IMF, the World Bank, etc) and regional organizations (DECD, EFTA) [European Free Trade Association] and their individual members regarding new financial support for our program, as well as negotiations with the Paris Club, governments, and commercial banks about rescheduling our foreign debts; their servicing takes about five percent of the country's GDP. That support would represent a strong additional material lever for successful implementation of the reform on these bases. We will use the support partly for financial recovery and consolidation of the deficit within the Yugoslav economy, and partly to open up processes of structural changes in the economy, to open new investment circles and a complete revival of economic activity on these bases.

This, coupled with the proposed measures designed to stimulate all forms of saving and rational and efficient use of the production factors available to attract additional foreign capital in the form of joint investment or private firms, etc., provides a sound basis for revitalizing and boosting production following a reduction in the rate of inflation. To this end, we will shortly propose solutions concerning the introduction of economic rents and the sale of socially-owned apartments in which enormous social capital is locked up. If used in a rational and efficient way, this capital will be a strong additional generator necessary for boosting production.

In other words, institutional conditions have been created which are conducive to radical changes in property relations and their structure (on the basis of mixed forms and unhampered transition from one form to another); a new market-based economic system has been thought out and suitable mechanisms developed necessary for an efficient macroeconomic control of the economy; changes have been proposed which would give the government appropriate powers under which—within the framework of an overall policy as outlined by the SFRY Assembly—it would function efficiently and promptly in implementing that policy.

In the draft program of measures which the FED was planning to take to fulfill the reform goals and which I submitted upon taking this post, I drew attention to the need for our foreign policy to be fully engaged in this direction.

I referred here, primarily, to an urgent need for foreign support for our program, our complete openness to international economic trends, and for a higher degree of involvement in integrational processes at work in our immediate international economic surrounding.

Diplomatic and political activities conducted to this end throughout the year were aimed at maintaining political dialogue with our most important economic partners and, at the same time, with the most influential economic and financial factors in the world.

I must admit that this dialogue has not always been a pleasant one. On occasion, it was permeated with sharp critical remarks at the expense of our internal and, above all, political circumstances. However, in the end, an atmosphere prevailed characterized by friendly and correct assessments of and understanding for our difficulties while at the same time readiness was expressed to support us, providing we consistently and successfully pursue the policy we opted for.

This program is being offered at a time of profound transformations in the world and in Europe, in particular. Significant changes are under way in the existing political and economic structures—in Eastern Europe especially—characterized by mutually overlapping disintegrational and integrational processes. In this, a wider European integration is taking shape with an increasingly obvious tendency toward overcoming many aspects of the existing political and economic divisions and towards transforming the institutional frameworks of cooperation. This tests all the countries, all political forces, and all economic integrations. As a result, there is growing evidence of democratization in overall relations—both on the international and domestic scene—and especially in Europe and East European countries.

Likewise, orientation towards the market economy is fully acclaimed, and economic laws are becoming a more universally accepted category.

Our reform received the wide support of our main partners regarding both its overall conception and the phase characterized by the current measures.

Speaking concretely, this is expressed through the Economic Community's support for the memorandum in which we presented the reform's goals and concrete forms for more cooperation;the EFTA's decision regarding the fund for industrial development of Yugoslvia; financial support for the reform by some countries, e.g. Italy; forthcoming assessment of the OECD study about the Yugoslav economy and the OECD; the forthcoming agreement with the World Bank; and the readiness of some governments, for example, the United States, the FRG, Japan, Canada, France, and others, to provide technical and other aid in implementation of some aspects of the reform.

Of course, all these basically positive references are not unconditional and unreserved. Their full assessment depends in essence on real achievements and results which we shall realize in implementating domestic reforms. At the same time, this is exceptionally important for our successful further inclusion in the Europe's present integration movements and in raising institutional frameworks of cooperation to a higher level, about which this Chamber will adopt an appropriate political document soon.

Now, when conditions for a way out of the crisis are met and all preconditions are created for successful economic development, for a contemporary market economy, for a law-governed state and a democratic society, we must not just miss this opportunity; it is necessary to subordinate everything to this goal. This does not mean that differences and various interests are denied, it does not mean a demand for some momentary unity, but it is a reasonable assessment that we shall, in coming out of the crisis, remove the key hotbed of our divisions and confrontations, and that we shall view our life together, our interests, and aspirations in a different light.

Now, at this time of crisis, we seem to be surrounded by barriers to our own development, to our national identity and individual aspirations that lie in insurmountable differences and quite irrationally conceived interests and interpretations of our past, present, and future. These, I believe, are the most profound reasons for our crisis—a crisis of confidence—for delving into the past in order to find arguments for conflicts in the present in the struggle for power, in a country in which no one has the right to pretend to domination, superiority, and unilaterally

imposed interests, in a country in which the community can only survive on the basis of full equality of nations and citizens, mutual respect, and the patient building of a common life, with respect for differing interests and historical, cultural, religious, and other differences.

Europe is full of differences which during the wars and long after them seemed insurmountable, and the antagonisms seemed eternal and imminent. Today, however, whole regions—whose histories are full of reciprocal wars and destruction—are in a community of rich and civilized nations which do not deny their histories or specific features but are living together, reaching agreements step by step, always looking forward, jointly orientated toward the future, the advantages of economic integration, and cultural permeation.

Is this not a sufficient lesson for us and not only for us? Did we not do the same thing in 1941 in our common struggle for survival and for full national equality? Do we have to turn the wheel of history back and pay the price that we have already paid? Do we need to go through such a calvary in order to recognize our common interests, to live together, and to be capable, prepared, and willing to live in the European Community? We will pay for our mistakes with poverty, the poisoning of our spirit, and a position on the distant periphery of Europe. If reason prevails, if our long-term interests and ties prevail, we have all the conditions for getting out of the crisis, for opening the way to progress as an equal participant in the European march into the 21st century.

Today we are obsessed with inflation, and rightly so, because not only does it destroy the economic fabric but also our social, moral, and human integrity. However, permit me to express my firm conviction that—on the basis of this program—inflation will be quickly overcome.

Allow me to recall that inflation is not only an economic phenomenon. It would never have exploded in this way if the system had not been economically irrational, if the administration of society had had democratic characteristics, if democratic control of the functioning of government had existed, if the state had had the attributes of a law-governed state and had been capable of making timely decisions which all would observe.

Therefore, the program which we will use to conquer inflation is only a beginning and, I would go so far as to say, the easiest part of the program for society's total and profound transformation. If we content ourselves with bringing down inflation and stop at other segments of social reform, the results will be short-lived. On the other hand, success in overcoming inflation will be proof that we are on the right road and that we must be extremely determined in order to carry through the reform as a whole. Complete changes guarantee that conquering inflation will not be an isolated act, an act of necessity, but rather a condition and major contribution to society's overall transformation. We have yet to begin the major tasks of the new economic development, of overcoming the difficult heritage of unproductive labor and irrational business activity, of absorbing all the norms of a democratic, pluralistic society, the norms of labor and behavior which will open up for us the way into Europe.

Therefore, the decision to conquer inflation does not contain only economic models and measures, but also major political and social preconditions to achieve permanent results. Everyone should understand the FEC proposal regarding constitutional changes and laws shaping up the property system and the overall economic system, which should be followed by a new constitution and changes to the political system.

The economic reform program advocates independence of economic subjects, and its solutions prevent involvement of political factors in economic life. However, due to various tendencies and problems which would arise in the process of implementing the reform, opportunities are opened up for a political factor to manipulate people and situations in the struggle to preserve power and positions.

I would like to ponder in particular two or three imperatives of our further development.

1. The foundations of any democratic society must be the rights of citizens, and their full respect and protection by instruments of a law-governed state. This is an unavoidable prerequiste for the equality of nations and nationalities. If citizens' rights are not respected, the legitimacy of the authority and state are brought into question. A consequence of this is inevitable conflicts and their transfer, under the conditions of a multinational community, to the terrain of instigation of nationalism, chauvinism, national homogenization, and intolerance. We shall direct our efforts toward developing a society in which citizens will have all rights appropriate to a modern democratic society and community of equal nations, in which no nation would demand priority because of historical, economic, or cultural or any other reasons, so that each citizen in any part of the country would have the feeling that he is a fully-fledged citizen, and that his personal and national identity are equally respected. Violation of any of these rights, as we see, not only affects individuals, nations, and peoples, but causes concern in the international community, which is feeling threatened if someone departs from these civilizational norms.

The other imperative for coexistence is a single Yugoslav market, integral and open to the world. Economic ties are the material basis for coexistence. It is the duty of the law-governed state to protect them with all legal means. Contracts in a market economy and law-governed state are sacred and the law-governed state and its courts must protect them from violation, both when the parties to the agreement and their actions are involved and also when they are under threat by nonlegal means.

Agreements cannot be subject to retaliation because of the possible danger to certain other interests which

should be discussed and decided in another way and through other procedures, either political or parliamentary. Otherwise, there can be no separation of politics from the economy, the foundations of the law-governed state are undermined, there is no established legal basis for economic exchange or security. This tears apart the economic fabric which, despite all our divisions and the consequences of a consensus economy, is still our community's strongest cohesive factor. Such actions, anachronisms, even between states, are usually unsuccessful and have great negative consequences for all participants.

In a federation with a single market, such actions also harm all others, in other words the whole community, all its members, and not only those immediately involved, and further exacerbate the economic and serious political situation in the country. When commitments are made, and all members of the Federation put equal emphasis on them, not showing concern only for their own development but also for the development of the whole federation, such actions are unconstitutional, because the Constitution says that violation of the single market is an anticonstitutional act.

The third imperative is the attitude toward the Federation. This is not a supranational foreign body which has to be constantly checked, but rather an essential mechanism for coexistence and decisionmaking.

Our attention should be directed not towards the Federation such as it is, but towards its transforamtion so that it meets in all respects the demands of the open market econmy, of a law-governed state with strictly defined rights and responsibilities which enable it to carry out the functions without which there is no market or rule of law. And nothing else. The guarantee that it will not be centralist, unitarist, or anything else that its peoples do not want, does not lie in itself, as the roof of the common home, but rather in the economic system, in the character of ownership relations and the political system. Through them, the Federation can have quite a different character. This is why it is essential for us to unite in striving for it to be fully law-governed, democratic, and, in the economic sphere, the macroeconomic regulator of the free development of all subjects. This is the only guarantee that it will measure up to the people's expectations, that it will not in any way fetter the autonomy of the republics and autonomous provinces, or any economic subjects. All our nations and nationalities, all our republics and provinces, want such a Federation, I believe, and we must create such a Federation, assist it, and respect it.

And, finally, many politically-minded people and economists, in particular, in other words those who understand what efforts are requried to pull out of an economic crisis, and all foreign experts stress that, as shown by successful programs applied in the world so far, the task we are embarking upon calls for a social consensus on its directions, its content, and principal measures. This is an irrefutable truth. In other countries, this consensus is arrived at through cooperation between political parties, the trade unions, and employers and is eventually given a seal of approval by a decision of the top legislative body, i.e. the parliament. Although programs of this kind are not revealed beforehand (there has been no example of this), its approval is achieved on the basis of its main directions and confidence in the government which takes on full responsibility for the risk it is taking. And even when the program is a good one, the risk is enormous. Without overall support and social discipline especially in the initial period which is never shorter than 6 to 12 months, it is not possible to overcome this risk.

It is very important to produce a good program. I firmly believe that this program is a good one and that it would lead us to our goal providing, of course, it is implemented without any prejudice or assumption that it favors one side and is detrimental to the other, without a priori promoting one's own interests alone, but at the same time, with readiness to make certain sacrifices.

It will, however, be more difficult to be at the helm of the ship during our long sailing through the turbulent and rough waters of our Yugoslav sea. We are all together aboard this ship which will not weather the storm unless each one of us is prepared to carry out tasks in a disciplined manner. We therefore need a consensus, we need support from this assembly for our entire program and the measures contained in it. Let us not allow trivial, daily, and ephemeral interests and aroused passions to divide us. Let us, rather, become united over our common national and true interests for the benefit of a stable and well-balanced economy, an economy capable of entering world competition, the only economy among socialist countries with a convertible currency as a sign of our maturity and readiness to join the world of developed societies.

Your full support, without dissension, could provide the SFRY Assembly with an excuse to appeal to all workers and working people, to all citizens of Yugoslavia to set aside strikes, social, and other conflicts over the next 6 months so that all the energy can be directed toward successfully implementing the reform.

These are the reasons why the FEC and I, personally, have decided to ask for your undivided support for this report and the program of economic reform and of measures for curbing inflation, Ante Markovic said ending his speech.

Markovic's Speech—Footnotes to the Speech [number of footnotes as received]

1. This refers to laws on enterprises, on banks, and other financial institutions, and on financial dealings and accountancy, all of which still contained remnants of a consensus economy and suffered from certain inconsistencies.

2. Due to constitutional constraints, it was impossible to regulate, at the normative level, and implement the

conception of the fiscal system's reform, prepared and proposed by the FEC. The attempt to replace the constitutional constraints by the harmonization of the fiscal system and fiscal policies of the federal units through consensus, has borne no fruit due to the fact that the units held various stances on the issue. And this is a major shortcoming, because the federation is deprived of a necessary and powerful instrument through which it could efficiently influence both the establishment of similarly equal conditions of economic activity (through appropriate and tolerant harmonization of taxes and contributions) within the single Yugoslav economic space and the implementation of an appropriate economic, development, and social policy, which, understandably, is not insignificant for the successful implementation of economic reform, especially the policy of eliminating inflation and the efficient administration of the economy in general. Hence, the FEC set in motion an initiative for the SFRY Constitution to be changed, a change which would enable the federation to determine, through federal laws, a fiscal system on a single basis and establish the common bases of the fiscal policy, which means that the federation would determine the system, types and forms of taxes, tax payers, taxation rate, and tax exemption.

3. This refers to laws about assignment, bankruptcy, and the liquidation of enterprises; financial recovery, bankruptcy, and the liquidation of banks; and an agency for the financial recovery of banks.

4. In addition to the commodity market which has always existed in an imperfect form, the establishment of a capital market and a labor market, which facilitates the real valuation of the factors of production, are exceptionally important for successfully implementing the economic reform.

In this connection it should be said that, as is well known, the money and short-term securities market is already open and all the necessary preparations have been completed for the capital market to open and begin operation at the end of this month. Despite a certain scepticism on the part of those who, because of lack of accumulation, insufficient savings by the population, and perhaps caution in the initial phase, have marginalized the importance of these markets, I consider that the opening of these markets is exceptionally important. They open up a process of constructing a new system of financing social reproduction which will lead to the marginalization of the present over-blown credit relations, encourage savings by the population and have a favorable effect on the increase of long-term capital, increase savings mobility and accumulation motivated by the level of earnings it can achieve, enable the current valuation of enterprises and their property via the price of their stocks and dividends (instead of a voluntaristic assessment on the basis of accounting evidence), and create institutional bases for activating the process of restructuring enterprises and banks which show a poor performance on market bases and the formation of new enterprises, and so on.

In other words, the formation of these markets and the use of their possibilities and valuation parameters and indicators is exceptionally important now, too, when we are taking measures for the recovery and consolidation of the economy and banks so that these operations are carried out on the basis of economic principles and healthy foundations, and for the better utilization of available resources and their efficient allocation. As for the labor market, with the end of the monopoly over jobs and with the linking of job security to competition and selection according to knowledge and ability, management structures will be able to achieve the optimum combination of production factors in accordance with the needs of the production processes, changes which technological progress brings, and the market's demands. Another prerequisite for this is strengthening management structures' accountability by linking their remuneration, and survival in that position as well, to the work results which the enterprise they are managing achieves, and their complete liberation from interference from factors outside the enterprise in their work.

Also underway are preparations for drafting collective agreements which, in interaction between the representatives of workers' interests—the trade unions—and the interests of the owners of capital, organized within the framework of economic chambers, will in an objective and market-based manner establish the cost of the workforce which will be a constituent part of its cost prices. To this end, it is exceptionally important that both the trade unions and the chambers are transformed as soon as possible and equipped to successfully carry out their very important task.

5. Criticisms of the FEC over the past few months and demands voiced for accelerated development of an anti-inflationary program, which would conquer inflation immediately and efficiently, were unfounded. We in the FEC then, and especially after studying theories on the phenomenon and literature on experiences of many other countries, were clear that—without setting up preconditions which I mentioned above—no proposed anti-inflationary program would have a chance to succeed. Since without thorough reform of the economic system on market principles and development of macroeconomic instruments—which would shape macroeconomic policy and adopt it to the basic goal of conquering inflation, through which we would efficiently manage economic trends, which, once in use, would take their place and role in stabilizing the economy—as well as, without foreign currency provisions and the needed foreign support, all possible starting results of such anti-inflation programs would soon melt and inflation would explode again. This is confirmed both by our country's numerous unsuccessful attempts with such anti-inflation programs and by other countries' negative experiences. Major domestic and foreign imbalances in material trends of social reproduction cannot be removed without sharp cuts and changes, which have the character of reform, without necessary sacrifices and the price which one has to pay for them.

6. The Federal Executive Council is working intensively on a review of the existing protection system and policy with the view of revising them and bringing them into line with changes carried out in other sectors of the economic system. Our new protection system and policy will be formulated in a manner appropriate to our declared orientation, our economy's exposure to the the world market's influence and the need to increase our share of world trade.

The implementation of this protection concept will, due to a low level of economic development and the existing material limitations, be carried out in stages and gradually, with the aim of bringing its level and structure closer to the system of protection employed by our main foreign trade partners, primarily the EC countries. To this end, during the first stage (during 1990) there will be a revision of customs tariffs, tariff rates will be lowered, the number of customs tariffs will be reduced, and the range between them narrowed. The principle will also be introduced whereby customs duties have to be paid on each imported item. Our aim is to make customs duties the main protection instrument. Non-customs duties, as an instrument of economic policy, will also undergo radical changes in the sense that they will disappear completely. This will have to be gradual. As you know, there has been a radical liberalization of imports; as a result, only 13 commodity exports are subject to a restrictive regime. The process of liberalization will continue. Our aim is to replace barriers based on the commodity system with other, more modern forms of passive barriers, such as: standards, certificates, technical standards, etc. We shall also pass regulations providing for measures to protect our market from dumping, i.e., from unfair foreign competition. In implementing the reform in this important sector of the economic system we shall take into consideration all relevant facts, including the need for stepping up our participation in the international division of labor and for stronger impact by foreign competition, development, and tax policy.

7. The main indicators of this policy are domestic net assets of the banks, the domestic net assets of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, an envisaged inflation rate of 13 (?percent), an unchanged exchange rate for the dinar, and a real social product shift of minus two.

Foreign Interference in Romania Warned Against

AU2812213489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Dec 89 p 2

[Vlado Teslic commentary: "Timisoara and Bucharest"]

[Excerpts] Judging by the wave of indignation and protests in the neighboring countries, that are interested above all in the stability of the region as well as in the basic rights of their national minorities, and the wave that flowed from the western regions of Europe, which contained a high and worrying political charge, Romania is now the "black sheep" of the European East that has turned to democracy and reforms, and more. Romania could be not only a bone of contention in building a new "European house," but also a serious potential hotbed of new clashes in the old continent.

There is nothing easier than to abandon oneself to emotions that are provoked by violence, the suppression of basic human and national rights, terror, and reprisals, either in one's own or in another country, especially if it is a neighboring country, if we have not had any disputes with it through history, and if we have established a high degree of understanding, solidarity, and friendship with it. Such emotions are ultimately always channeled into even greater solidarity, understanding, and friendship, because they are tied to the peoples who stay and not the regimes that pass.

It is dangerous, however, to be carried along by political waves of one kind or another that are being launched against any country, with any content in the form of theories about somebody's right to intervene in the name of the doctrine of "limited sovereignty" or the "right to adopt democracy," which is often confused with the idea of human rights. Once you are riding such a wave, which as a rule is destructive and inhuman, which also means politically dangerous, you bring yourself into a situation when your indignation and deeply humane intentions serve some other (somebody else's) purpose. [passage omitted]

What right do the leading political forces in the West have to now demand not only a replacement for Ceausescu, but also the destruction of everything that Romania has created with its own forces and sacrifices, even though with some mistakes? What right has one to impose the design of another system on a country that holds independence so dearly, a design that virtually argues that the independence of the country is its greatest achievement? This independence could gain in importance precisely now, when the Warsaw Pact is virtually being dissolved.

New history and a new Europe cannot be created overnight, in a one-sided way, according to one or another design or mold, as many people in the West calculate, losing as it seems their patience and discernment in the process. It is not a question of Romania alone. An English newspaper close to the government has recently moaned that Romania and Serbia (!) are again turning back the clock of history in the Balkans. With the well-known English pretentiousness when history and small countries are concerned, the article remarked that "Serbian nationalism led to World War I," which suggests by allusion that these two countries could perhaps lead to World War III.

It is therefore no wonder that in the multitude of proposals on how to solve the "Romanian problem," one also hears appeals to a crusade in the name of Helsinki, human rights, and democracy, although the Helsinki Final Act also proclaimed the principle of noninterference. Sanctions are also being proposed, and when it is understood that the West cannot do anything in this

respect, it is suggested to the Soviet leader that he should intervene in the name of the still valid Warsaw Pact, either in a military or an economic fashion.

How irrational and dangerous all this is and how much trouble it could cause is something that only Gorbachev seems to be aware of at present. What comes after Ceausescu? The alternative that is being mentioned is a possible return of the monarchy, which however does not necessarily mean democratization, but it could lead to major national clashes within Romania or with its neighbors, because the question of Moldavia and of Transylvania will inevitably arise. And would not Gorbachev's intervention—even in a milder form of stopping trade with Romania (80 percent of Romanian exports go to Romania)—be a violation of Helsinki, as well as a return to intervention of the old type? And this would be the end of Gorbachev and of perestroyka, as well as of detente.

If the changes and reforms that have embraced East Europe are a historical process, as the statement by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Presidium correctly states, and if they cannot be stopped by closing the borders and especially not with violence, one must in addition take care about respect for history, traditions, achievements, and the specific traits of every country, including Romania. A climate must be created for changes in Romania not by imposing demonstrations or a rebellion from outside, but through the Romanians themselves, and not through sanctions or violence because they are counterproductive.

'Openness,' 'Cordiality' at Malta Meeting Viewed

AU2812165889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Dec 89 p 2

[Zoran Mandzuka commentary: "Malta, Malta"]

[Text] Optimism is usually healthy, but when it comes in too big a dose, it can lead to conclusions imbued by excessive emotions. Does this also apply to messages that were reaching the coast from the turbulent waters of the Malta channel in which 2-day talks "without agenda" between George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev, as well as their aides took place?

The first impression is that the meeting concluded without any firm agreements—at least they were not publicized—of course we could count the agreement saying that the two leaders should officially meet in Washington next summer. After all, such agreements were hardly expected, because the meeting in the Maltese waters was convened much less because of bilateral currents, and much more because of events in international, primarily European currents. It goes without saying that the former is by no means excluded by the latter, above all because of the very role the United States and the USSR play in shaping overall relations in the world.

The strongest impression is that the meeting was held in an obvious atmosphere of stressed openness and cordiality (even relaxation) which was supposed to confirm the improving political climate in which Malta has shown that the division of the world, as established at Yalta or, better said, in the period following Yalta, has been disappearing. Moreover, it has been doing so rather quickly under often surprising conditions.

In the library of the "MS Maxim Gorkiy" where the talks were held, both George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev, when assessing results, have unreservedly used expressions of far-reaching significance. Although the "danger of exaggeration" was also pointed to, it was concluded that the world has broken with the cold war and found itself at an "essential turning point." In short, one may think that the "world peace has broken out."

Some mild dilemmas may still appear here. At least at this moment there is nothing to deny that there is a desire both in Washington and in Moscow to do as much as possible to make the old conflicts [suceljavanje] finally remain in the past, but it remains questionable if the very thaw in the relations between the great powers means abandoning the competition, or—something even more questionable—abandoning the road toward strictly bilateral talks.

Despite the already mentioned fact that no agreements have been signed, many topics were touched upon, arms for example. A proposal was heard, for example, that a summit of 16 NATO and 7 Warsaw Pact countries should be held in Vienna next year. However, does that not sound like an attempt to return everything into bloc framework and does it not show—and it seems that it does—an American desire to remain in Europe not only in the political but also in the military way, something to which—due to certain interests—the Soviets probably are not showing more resolute opposition?

There is something else to be noticed, this time with fewer dilemmas. It is Bush's strongly expressed support of Gorbachev's perestroyka. Leaving aside the question of how the American military-industrial complex will react to that, one should repeat that the American President expressed his conviction that the time has come to help the Soviet leader more. The impression is probably that the present process of releasing the tension has begun with perestroyka itself and that the strengthening of the Soviet reforms can contribute to a further release and quicker democratization in Europe, and not only Eastern Europe at that. Behind this lies an impression that the Germans are most satisfied with the Malta talks—those in Bonn have already been confirming this.

The Soviet Union needs to improve its health. Mikhail Gorbachev asserted in Malta that "we have set foundations for the future," but despite the doubtless skill he shows in contacts with the outside world, he needs to invest as much effort in facing the situation in his own

country. Bush's message—for the most part addressed to the opposition in the United States—is therefore necessary for both sides.

In the political earthquakes spreading over Eastern Europe—which was one of the priorities at the Malta talks—it becomes clear that the majority of people in the East see the West as the arena of freedom and, even more, as an example of a consumer society. Freedoms—as someone has put it—are now equalled not only to a way of life where everything is permitted, but also where everything becomes possible. It is our impression that in the Malta channel Mikhail Gorbachev himself agreed to this and that George Bush certainly did not oppose it.

What is the final result? It is certainly too early for more resolute conclusions, but it is clear that the United States and the USSR have been moving along the road of agreement more and more quickly. The strongly expressed optimism should not push aside the fact that it is Europe's duty to take care of Europe.